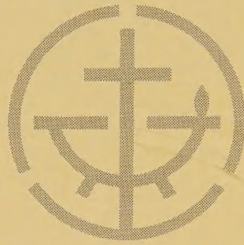


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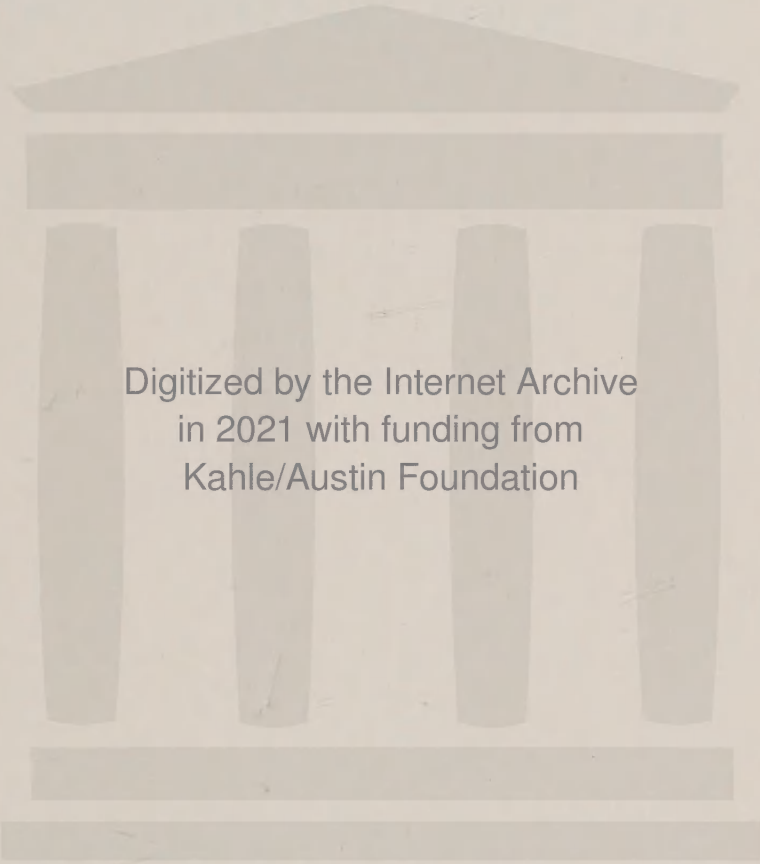
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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1964



Nathan E. Cohen

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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1964

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 91ST ANNUAL FORUM
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, MAY 24-29, 1964



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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The National Conference on Social Welfare

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE, a voluntary association of individual and organizational members, has since 1874 provided a national forum for the social welfare field.

The annual forums furnish a two-way channel of communication between paid and volunteer workers, between social welfare and allied fields, and between the fields of practice and the profession.

The National Conference maintains a library of manuscripts, growing out of the annual forums, which are made available for use on local, state, national, and international levels.

The Conference has a comprehensive publications program, and provides services to the state and international conferences on social welfare.

Foreword

THE 91ST ANNUAL FORUM was held in Los Angeles, California, May 24-29, 1964. Its theme, "Social Welfare's Responsibility to Communities in Change," reflected the concern of the thousands of social workers and other citizens gathered there. The phenomena of social changes and the new responsibilities of the profession created by change are the subject matter of many of the papers in this volume.

The year which had passed since the last Conference had brought many changes. President John F. Kennedy's tragic death by assassination had stunned the nation. The issues of civil rights had taken on vivid meaning for many citizens who hitherto had remained unconcerned. The increasingly difficult challenges which automation would present to government, business, social work, and to other social institutions had become more clearly recognized. President Johnson had launched his "war on poverty." Social work's concern with poverty is as old as the profession itself, but the inequities within the social structure which produce poverty, and the impact of poverty upon successive generations, are being newly examined. The phrase "cultural deprivation" has taken its place in social work literature alongside "material deprivation" and "emotional deprivation." In childhood the individual learns whether he is valued by his peers and by the adults around him. In the early years the foundation is laid for effective use of the cultural tools of words and numbers. Then he discovers whether he dares hope for achievement and whether achievement brings rewards. Poverty of such experiences in childhood may render him incapable of effective participation in the complex society into which he will be projected as an adult.

Within this context of a society in ferment, the Annual Forum was held.

The article "Implications of Social Change for Policy and Prac-

tice in Social Welfare" represents a synthesis of the Division meetings devoted to that subject. These meetings were an outgrowth of the project under the auspices of the National Association of Social Workers, and under the leadership of Nathan E. Cohen, who was also President of the Conference. Seven of the ten original papers which had been developed for the project, each on a social problem, and Dean Cohen's paper "A Social Work Approach," had been published by the NASW just prior to the Conference under the title *Social Work and Social Problems*. The synthesis in these proceedings is based upon summaries of these papers given by the authors of the original papers, the responses of discussants, and comments from the floor, and upon deliberation within the Post-Forum Workshop wherein participants examined the tasks to be performed in identifying changes to be brought about in policies and practices and the means to be used to effect such changes.

These Proceedings can include only a small fraction of the papers, but the Editorial Committee selected papers with the intent that these would capture the spirit of the Conference. The companion volume, *Social Work Practice, 1964*, has a similar intent of highlighting the concerns and developments within the methods of practice. The Editorial Committee regretted that Cora Kasius, one of its members, could not attend the Conference, and we missed her wise counsel. Other members of the Committee who devoted their time and effort to the selection of papers were Esther Lazarus, Beatrice Saunders, Harleigh Trecker, and Hollis Vick. The preliminary planning and the sustaining help of the Conference staff, Joe R. Hoffer, Ruth Williams, and Mabel Davis facilitated the work of the Editorial Committee, which also had the benefit of the presence of Mrs. Dorothy M. Swart, representing Columbia University Press.

ELIZABETH G. MEIER
Chairman, Editorial Committee

Message to the Conference

from PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

IN MY STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE I stressed that the war on poverty will not be won in Washington but that it must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the court house to the White House.

You the social workers of America, are the nation's front line troops; you are already in the field; you have met the enemy face to face, not once, but many times, with the odds heavily against you.

Today, in view of the response to my call for action, the odds at last are in your favor. You will find citizens from many walks of life fighting shoulder to shoulder with you, supporting the programs you have long advocated.

The success of your National Conference this year, devoted as it is to the theme of "Social Welfare's Responsibility to Communities in Change," is important, not only to you and to the people you serve, but to each and every American. May your work this week speed the day when the United States stands before the world as the first nation in all history to free all of its people from the age old enemy of want.

A Tribute to John Fitzgerald Kennedy— Man of Destiny

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35th President of these United States, made "Social Welfare's responsibility" his very own. In his efforts toward this end, through five special messages to Congress he drew national attention to the needs of youth, the elderly, the mentally ill and mentally retarded, and to the urgency of improving our health and education programs. Because of this he will always occupy a special place in the annals of social welfare.

The National Conference on Social Welfare is grateful for his messages to its three Annual Forums during his years as President. In each he mentioned how closely allied were the Forum themes and his goals for our country.

As we look now in retrospect . . .

May his dedication to purpose inspire us to live up to our own ideals . . .

May his courageous vision prompt us to turn our own eyes forward. . . . and

May his vigorous determination unleash our own potential.

There are those whose names will remain forever enshrined in history because they gave expression to all men's aspirations and because they gave all a man could possibly give in his striving to make this country a better one in which to live.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was one of these . . . and to his memory we now pay tribute.

Message to the Conference

from GOVERNOR EDMUND G. BROWN

AS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE of California and Honorary Chairman of your National Conference on Social Welfare, I send you greetings and the warmest of welcomes to this, your 91st Annual Forum, in the City of Los Angeles.

Today, as our nation is tooling up for the all-out war on poverty, a meeting such as this takes on special significance. You are the captains, the field lieutenants, and the front-line troops in this war, and I trust you will not rest until victory has been reached.

May your meetings here be most productive, so that on Friday you will depart better informed, more dedicated, and pledging renewed faith to carry on the battle in the highest traditions of your professions.

Resolution

LOS ANGELES COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

WHEREAS the National Conference on Social Welfare will hold its 91st Annual Forum in Los Angeles from May 24 to May 29, 1964; and

WHEREAS this is the first time since the National Conference was founded in 1874 as the Conference of Boards of Public Charities that Los Angeles has been host to this Forum; and

WHEREAS many of our local civic leaders have devoted much time and effort by serving on the Sponsoring Committee for this Forum; and

WHEREAS the National Conference has been the preface to action in the social welfare field over the years, its history having paralleled the history of social welfare in these United States; and

WHEREAS many problems of prime importance to our society today will be discussed by experts in their various fields during this coming week, and these discussions may well provide a base from which some of these problems can be resolved;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that by the adoption of this Resolution, the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County does hereby welcome the members of the National Conference on Social Welfare, its officers, staff, and speakers to the Annual Forum and wishes for them a successful program and much progress made in the achievement of their goals.

WARREN M. DORN

Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, 5th District

FRANK G. BONELLI KENNETH HAHN

Supervisor, 1st District Supervisor, 2d District

ERNEST E. DEBS

BURTON W. CHACE

Supervisor, 3d District

Supervisor, 4th District

Resolution

CITY OF LOS ANGELES

WHEREAS, the National Conference on Social Welfare convenes this week in Los Angeles for its 91st Annual Forum; and

WHEREAS, this is the first time in the 91 years since its founding in 1874 as the Conference of Boards of Public Charities that this organization has held its Forum in Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, the Conference is the single body in our national life which brings together every segment of the social welfare field, lay and career, governmental and voluntary; and

WHEREAS, many of our city's own leading citizens are acting as the Sponsoring Committee for this Forum; and

WHEREAS, during these sessions many problems of vital concern to our nation will be discussed—such as poverty, civil rights, automation and unemployment, juvenile delinquency, mental health and these discussions may well provide a base from which some of these problems can be resolved;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that by the adoption of this Resolution, the City Council of the City of Los Angeles does hereby welcome the members of the National Conference on Social Welfare for its 91st Annual Forum and wishes for them great success in the achievement of their goals.

Presented by

JAMES HARVEY BROWN
Councilman, 13th District

Seconded by

ROSALIND WIENER WYMAN
Councilwoman, 5th District

National Conference on Social Welfare Award

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AWARD for outstanding contributions in social welfare was presented by Nathan E. Cohen, President of the Conference, at the Combined Associate Group Meeting on Thursday morning, May 28, 1964. The recipient, Dr. Robert Hanna Felix, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health, was selected by the National Board of the Conference on the basis of nominations received from its members.

The citation was as follows:

For his outstanding achievements in helping to advance our attitudes, knowledge and skills in the cause of the mentally ill.

Director of the National Institute of Mental Health since its inception in 1949, he has added to his earlier accomplishments as successful practitioner and administrator, a record of creative leadership and statesmanship which has brought him both national and international renown. Under his skillful guidance the Institute has grown in size and stature to become one of the most important in the National Institutes of Health. Over a period of 15 years, the Institute has provided a balanced program of support for the training of much-needed professional people, research, community services, and pilot projects to test the feasibility of new ideas. These developments have resulted in changes in attitudes toward mental illness, increased financial support at the local, state, and Federal levels, improved and expanded programs, and new treatment approaches.

His attitude has always been one of innovation. With the promotion of mental health as his goal, he has steadily moved the resources of the Institute toward the achievement of a comprehen-

sive mental health program. The boldness and creativity of his plans were outlined in a special message to Congress by our late President John F. Kennedy on February 5, 1963.

The field of social welfare owes him a special debt. His breadth of vision and his ability to view psychological stress as rooted, not only in the individual, but also in the economic, social, and political institutions, has made the programs of the Institute compatible with the spirit and goals of social work. Because of this, social workers have been invited to participate in the development of, and to derive much from, pioneer programs which have emerged in the Institute.

Without his dedication, tireless effort, wisdom, astute leadership, humor, and warmth, this unusual record of accomplishment in the war against mental illness would not have been possible.

For his brilliant leadership in helping the nation move from the level of humane care for the mentally ill, to greater public awareness that psychiatric disorders can be successfully treated, to a vision of promoting mental health, the National Conference on Social Welfare is proud to recognize DR. ROBERT HANNA FELIX.

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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1964

Future Welfare Policy, Program, and Structure

by NATHAN E. COHEN

THIS IS A TIME which may be described by historians as "the era of explosion." It is a period of nuclear, technological, population, racial, and value explosions. The impact on society is of great magnitude. Change is not new. It is an integral part of every societal process. What is new in this era is the rate of change and its demand for innovation, creativity, and a sense of adventure in seeking answers to myriad problems emerging out of this scientific revolution.

Many unmet needs which have accumulated over a period of years can no longer be kept "invisible." The growing numbers of people who are becoming eligible for the new label, "below the poverty line"; the increase in mental health problems, the increase in delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, in the incidence of unmarried motherhood, and broken families; the growing sense of alienation of the aging; the groping of our young people for values and a sense of identity; and the slow progress in race relations, are gnawing at our conscience and making denial of social problems more difficult to defend.

As we attempt to deal with these problems, the inadequacy of our policies, program, and structure becomes apparent. An analysis of the one fifth of the population living in poverty reveals that one third are made up of the aging and their families; another third includes widows, divorced women, and unmarried mothers with their children. Other groupings are the sick and the disabled, the under-employed and the casually employed, the small farm owner, the tenant farmer, the farm worker, and the small shop owner. Many

of these economically dependent individuals can be helped only through new policies and programs in the social security system. These would include higher payments to recipients of Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance and of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children; a comprehensive system of health insurance and pensions for invalids; a national program of unemployment benefits; minimum wage legislation for the 16 million workers without coverage; low-cost housing programs for the disadvantaged who are now living in 11.3 million homes and apartments classified as slum dwellings; and expanded health and social services.¹

The poverty group, furthermore, is not a static one. Without increased economic growth, and courageous programs of intervention, the high and rising level of unemployment can result in adding substantially to the one fifth of the nation who live in poverty and to the additional one fifth who are not too far from the poverty line. The unemployment pattern, furthermore, is not typical. Unemployment emerging out of the impact of automation may be different from that experienced during the Industrial Revolution. At one time we could assume that high productivity and a good margin of profit automatically meant high employment. This correlation no longer holds. Production is being expanded in such fields as agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, and mining, with sharp declines in the number of workers employed. There is growing recognition that approximately thirty million people are employed in tasks which in the near future will be dead-end jobs. The new jobs demand higher levels of education, which implies practically writing off the one third who have less than high school preparation, and threatening the other third who have completed high school but have not had college education. There is question as to whether or not there can be enough jobs to absorb the total work force. We may be faced with a reevaluation of the role of work and leisure in our society as we plan to meet the needs growing out of an affluent society.

It is estimated that 25 percent of the total population have some degree of psychiatric impairment. Even in communities which have

¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *Challenge to Affluence* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 59.

numerous psychiatric services there are long waiting lists of children and adults in need of help. A similar story of inadequate programs and resources for the other major social problems could also be told.

Our mounting social problems cry for creative and courageous solutions. Yet, we approach these problems with the knowledge and institutional arrangements of yesterday, failing to take into account the changing conditions under which people live today. The times demand a new architecture which can come only from a greater clarity of our goals and values.

Over the years we have witnessed a change in attitudes toward people in trouble. We have been able to move from a concept of subsistence to one of a health and decency standard of living. Although we have talked about the individual receiving benefits as a right rather than as charity, we have never fully accepted this concept. In the thirties we sold our programs in pragmatic terms, with the individual as an economic unit. In the sixties we are talking about the importance of human resources to the further development of the economy. The time has come to view the problem within the context of social justice.

What is our answer to the basic question: "Are we our brother's keeper?" Do we believe that the fruits of democracy are to be shared by all regardless of race, creed, or national origin? Do we believe in the dignity of the individual? Do we believe that during technological change and structural unemployment society has a responsibility to the individual citizen? Interestingly enough, we are now in a time when our goals of social justice or social reform are more closely linked with the solution of our economic problem than ever before in our history. As pointed out by Myrdal:

Never in the history of America has there been a greater and more complete identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress. The latter goal is not attainable if large-scale policy measures are not inaugurated to reach the former goal.²

Why, then, do we hesitate to move toward a new architecture?

In seeking an answer to this question of goals, it may be helpful

² *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

to think back to the great depression when we were faced with major social problems. At that time we found ourselves engaged in an ideological war centering on the question of a changing role of government. Emotional debates on big and centralized government and the welfare state were the order of the day. The Second World War brought postponement of major decisions on these issues. We came out of the war seeking to return to business as usual and regarding the thirties as an abnormal period in our history. Soon, however, we found ourselves drifting from one crisis to another. President Eisenhower appointed a special commission to outline our goals as a nation, since it had become evident that we were clearer about what we were against than what we were for. The basic ideological issues, however, were not dealt with adequately.

What of our fears of having moved on the road toward the welfare state? Andrew Hacker defines a welfare state as:

one that guarantees a broad series of economic protections that any citizen can claim when he is no longer able to provide for himself. In a welfare state, the benefits an individual receives are political rights, not charity, and there should be no occasion for apology or embarrassment in applying for them. Moreover, the services made available by a welfare state will parallel in quality and coverage those open to individuals who are able to draw on private resources.³

Utilizing this as a model, he then examines what the American citizen can expect in the way of help through such programs as unemployment insurance, old age insurance, aid to dependent children, public assistance, low-rent public housing, and medical care. His examination leads him to the following pointed comments:

As matters now stand . . . the debate over the welfare state has more to do with a symbol than with anything we have or are likely to have in the foreseeable future. The benefits now provided are at little more than a subsistence level, and their recipients are given small cause to believe that they possess a continuing right to such services.

The welfare state, like all symbols, is more important for the emotions it arouses than for the actual threat it poses or as a record of political accomplishment. When the actual figures on the weekly checks are

³ Andrew Hacker, "Again the Issue of 'The Welfare State,'" *New York Times Magazine*, March 22, 1964, p. 9.

examined, there is nothing much for conservatives to be afraid of. Neither is there much of which liberals can be proud.⁴

Whether or not the Federal Government has become too powerful may also be one of those issues with more heat than light. The basic question is: Are there other ways to solve the growing social problems, or is the choice that of less centralization and less solution? The phenomenon of increased bigness and centralization is not a diabolical plot conceived by a group from another planet—in fact, not even from another party. The concept of solving problems by beginning first at the local level, then moving to a state level, and finally to a national level is deeply imbedded in our American heritage. With the growing industrialization and technological expansion, which demand a greater sense of interdependence, has come a larger number of problems which are national in scope. As Eric Goldman points out, “the government is as centralized as it is today for the simple . . . reason that it has to be to keep society functioning.”⁵

Perhaps of greater concern than the question of centralization is what Myrdal refers to as the “lively participation by a few” and “the lack of participation by the lower strata” in government.⁶ The lower strata today are made up, not of an upward mobile group, but more of chronic groupings who have drifted into the poverty belt over a period of time. This group is growing larger and resulting in what Myrdal refers to as “an underprivileged class of unemployed, unemployables, and underemployed who are more and more hopelessly set apart from the nation at large and do not share in its life, its ambitions, and its achievements.”⁷ It is almost as if we were developing two Americas which are growing further and further apart. It is almost as if we were struggling, not only with a biracial separation in American life, but also with a bi-economic one. If so, how can we provide leadership to a world which is attempting to solve these social and economic problems on a much larger scale?

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁵ Eric F. Goldman, “Is Washington Too Powerful?” a debate, *New York Times Magazine*, March 1, 1964, p. 22.

⁶ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Because of our concern about big and centralized government and the welfare state, our energies and attention seem to be directed less to the needs of people and more to the protection of existing institutional arrangements, as if they were ends in themselves. Our initial state of mind has been to attempt to meet the newly emerging problems within these institutions. The impact of change has been of such magnitude in recent years, however, that it is becoming more difficult to defend the thesis that the problems we face can be solved without an objective look at structural patterns developed to deal with them.

There is need for growing recognition that social problems overlap and involve multiple causation. Each problem seems to have many of the same underlying factors, but perhaps within a different profile. Recent large-scale programs projected by the Federal Government, such as the demonstration projects for dealing with delinquency, comprehensive mental health centers, and the war on poverty, all reflect efforts to tackle these problems through broader programs of social reform.

As attempts are made to initiate new approaches, existing arrangements have tended to become barriers. The urban situation, for example, is such that the question as to whether or not the city as a form of social organization is outmoded is constantly before us. More recently, the traditional neighborhood structure, especially as it relates to educational functions, has been under attack. There is no question that local communities are having great difficulty in carrying out traditional functions, such as education, housing, employment, health and welfare services, and law and social control.

In search for help in meeting the myriad problems emerging in a period of rapid change, local communities have turned to the county and the state. Because of archaic political structures and deeply entrenched political vested interests, these larger units have frequently proved to be inadequate in providing needed leadership and resources. In many states, for example, the rural legislators dominate the government in a period when the major problems are emerging in the urban areas.

In more recent years, the national and Federal levels have been turned to for leadership and resources. The Federal Government

has sought to expand necessary resources, but a pattern of planning so essential in dealing with the numerous economic and social problems has not been forthcoming. Various units of government have improved their planning machinery, but the focus still tends to be more on fragmented and specialized areas in a period which calls for large social reform projects involving cooperative efforts. This fragmentation, furthermore, creates competition between various departments on the state and local levels as they seek resources from the newly evolving programs on the Federal level. National voluntary agencies, unfortunately, have not been able to provide leadership to governmental developments because they too have moved along fragmented lines.

Although social work is perhaps less concerned about the goblins of the welfare state, economic liberalism, and bigger government, we are contributing our share of resistance to change. For example, in social work we may still be spending our energies debating yesterday's problems, not realizing that a victory will be hollow in the light of today's needs. The time has passed for such debates as public versus voluntary, middle-class needs versus economic dependency, children's services versus family services, private practice versus agency practice, education versus practice, and research versus professional training. These are arguments over earlier institutionalized arrangements. Unless we can discipline ourselves to focus on social problems, and from there move to questions of function and policy, the structure necessary to meet the needs of today and tomorrow will not be forthcoming. At times it appears as if we are assuming that the forces of change are affecting the lives of our clients but that we as a field and as a profession are immune. In social work, as elsewhere, a rapid rate of change can create a severe impact on existing institutions which can result in a high degree of resistance. The rate of change may be such that the status, prestige, and vested interests of a large number of individuals and organizational commitments may seem to be under attack, especially if the needs of people become secondary to the survival needs of the existing institutional arrangements.

Movement from "what is" to "what should be" may involve moving from a level of knowing what to do to a level of thinking about

new ways of tackling a problem without fully knowing how to do it. This venture into uncharted waters can create a sense of insecurity in that we tend to lean heavily on our institutionalized ways of doing things. In fact, the process of institutionalization is often such that we tend to destroy the "framework within which continuous knowledge, renewal and birth can occur."

Our problem is that we no longer have the luxury of resisting change in the meeting of social welfare needs. They have exploded in a way which makes denial of their impact unrealistic. As social welfare needs in local communities have expanded and have become more visible, the general lack of funds, knowledge, personnel, and facilities to meet these needs has become more evident. In fact, shortages in these crucial areas have forced us into the situation where we must make choices. In other words, we are now in a position of having to explore new institutional arrangements and to determine priorities, which is another term for planning.

As we move into planning we discover the interesting phenomenon that one can find agreement among consumers of services, providers of services, and policymakers around a rank order of needs. All groups involved see in varying degree the need for those programs and services which have been designed as the essential core of a social welfare program. The problem, however, is that if we attempt to move from rank order of needs to rank order of implementation, we suddenly discover that people do not agree on their original rank order. The reason for the discrepancy is that the various groups begin to realize that to implement this rank order calls for a change in their usual way of doing things and in their commitments to an extent which they may not have taken into account in seeming to agree on new goals.

In brief, we are dealing with the classic means-end problem. A sociological process is regarded as having two stages, namely, goals and methods of achieving goals. It is generally agreed that the more difficult stage is that of attaining agreement on goals. The assumption is that once goals have been agreed upon, the resolution of differences concerning method should be an easier process. In the discussion of these differences, however, one frequently discovers

that there really has not been agreement on goals. It is important, therefore, that a discussion of goals be tested fully.

The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) project on social work and social problems⁸ emphasized focusing on a social problem rather than merely looking at emerging problems within the context of our present structure and method. The study reveals that social problems, such as delinquency, unmarried mothers, broken families, neglected children, and poverty, do not have a single cause-and-effect etiology. They reflect a social profile containing many common factors of an economic, social, and psychological nature. Because of our single-dimension approaches and present institutional arrangements, our treatment tool is frequently utilized to diagnose a societal problem so that it can fit into the usual groove. These arrangements may represent an answer to the demands of an earlier period and may in themselves become a barrier to patterns and organizational structures necessary to meet present-day needs.

Only by refocusing on the social problem is it possible to determine the policy, program, and structure essential to meeting today's needs. Such an approach relates, not only to social policy, but also to the way in which we deploy our treatment resources. One of the crucial issues, as indicated earlier, is the worker displaced because of automation and new employment patterns. We will be continually faced with a gamut of individual and structural problems.

One of my students utilized the model developed through the NASW project in analyzing the problem of the displaced worker and came up with some interesting insights.⁹ He classified the unemployed individuals into three categories: the potentially employable who have alternate skills; those who lack alternate skills but have potential for retraining; and the unemployable. Individual problems, goals, values (societal and social work), and desired intervention were then identified for each category. Structural prob-

⁸ See Nathan E. Cohen, ed., *Social Work and Social Problems* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964).

⁹ Marvin Rosenberg, "Cybration: an Unrecognized Challenge to Social Work," unpublished paper. School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1964.

lems, such as lack of local job opportunities, racial discrimination, insufficient training programs geared to workers' needs, and lack of central economic planning to insure full employment, were also outlined in relation to each category. Through this approach a more meaningful plan for the direction of energies toward new policies, programs, and structure, including the appropriate deployment of casework, group work, and community organization resources, emerged. If some such planning does not take place, and we continue to separate the problem of the unemployed individual from that of structural unemployment, and if we treat all categories in similar fashion, the ranks of the unemployable may swell, and social work may find itself dealing only with a small segment which fits its predominant treatment model. Its contribution to this major problem, therefore, would be inconsequential.

It is clear that a focus on the social problems with which we are dealing rather than merely a reevaluation of our existing services and structures is essential. A level of analysis which defines the individual and structural components of the problem and their relationship should provide a clearer direction for the varied and total efforts of the field. The target for producing change at this point is not only the individual worker but, perhaps even more important since we operate primarily through social agencies, the agencies themselves, the organized profession, and the educational institutions responsible for the preparation of the professional.

To produce change it will not be enough to identify the magnitude of existing needs and to relate them to existing resources. Many of the problems demand new functional relationships between agencies and new patterns within a comprehensive plan. The agencies, therefore, become an important target in the scheme of things. We will have to learn to ask ourselves such questions as the following:

1. What agencies and groups will be affected by the change? With what consequences to them?
2. Which agencies and groups define the recommended change as a problem? Why?
3. What is the etiology of the resistance to change? Is it inherent in agency relationships? In professional interests, including na-

tional ties? In existing local organizational structure? In existing state and national organizational structure?

4. What community values and norms support the existence of this resistance to change? Oppose its existence? Are neutral to the problem?

5. What norms and values of the profession support the existence of this resistance to change? Oppose its existence? Are neutral to the problem?

6. To what level can such major groups as the agencies, the professional organizations, and the community decision-makers be moved?

As I have been thinking about the need for a more comprehensive approach on the local community level in this era of rapid change, the lack of an adequate planning mechanism in social welfare on the state and national levels began to loom large. I found myself identifying many organizations, such as the National Social Welfare Assembly, the NASW, the Council on Social Work Education, and the American Public Welfare Association, all interested in planning and yet each with its fragmented interests. The one organization which has attempted to cut across all interests has been the National Conference on Social Welfare. The role of the Conference, on the other hand, is not clear-cut, with its mixed membership pattern of individuals and agencies, and its rotating membership depending on where the Conference is held, and its strands less and less tied into the national planning quilt which is emerging. I began to wonder if the National Conference in its concern for the impact of change was guilty of not looking at the meaning of these new forces for its own future policies, programs, and structure.

It occurred to me, therefore, that it might be helpful to take the National Conference as a case history for analysis. The Conference came into being in 1873 when social work was highly undifferentiated. Over the years, as social work began to develop specialized knowledge and became more differentiated, the Conference helped to give birth to specialized organizations dealing with practice, education, public policy, and community planning. Among these organizations are the NASW, the Council on Social Work Education, the American Public Welfare Association, and the National Social

Welfare Assembly. Although each of these groups has a specialized concern, they have come to realize that social problems do not have a single cause and effect etiology but rather represent a profile of overlapping factors. As a result, each group has sought to expand its interests to include the specialized ingredients of the other. This is a positive trend but tends to result in proliferation and duplication, and at best is a poor substitute for the fuller commitment necessary if problems are to be tackled at a more primary level.

Even with the expanded activity in the field, we find ourselves without a planning mechanism on the national level. We find a number of groups attempting to plan for segments of the community and for parts of problems, but there is little coordination of these planning efforts. For example, can we in this day and age any longer think of a community on the local, state, or national level as part voluntary and part public? Can we meet the challenges of the present day without a more direct commitment to planning on all these levels? In recent years the National Conference has been troubled by these problems and has been approaching them like a parent who asks, "Did I bring up the children adequately?" Its soul searching has consisted of a number of studies to determine what its future parental role and responsibility might be.

Is the National Conference on Social Welfare a substitute for a national planning mechanism, or could it become such a mechanism? The answer is, obviously, "No." The National Conference is a forum and not a planning structure. As a forum, it is a tool in the process of planning. In some respects, it is a forum without an appropriate home because the national scene has not caught up with present needs. At times it is like the aging parent who is being asked to choose among her children as to where she might live because the children have not seen fit to establish a home that represents the family as a whole.

Although the National Conference cannot become a national planning body, it can provide a forum mechanism for bringing the children together to discuss common concerns and to view problems in their entirety. To accomplish this, however, it will be necessary for both the parent and the children to face change.

Is it too fantastic to envision a league type of structure to take

over the major responsibilities for the national forum? Could we not ask the National Social Welfare Assembly, the NASW, the Council on Social Work Education, and the American Public Welfare Association, with the help of the Conference, to develop a council responsible for the national forum? The council would consist of representatives from these four groups and members at large to insure coverage of any major groups which are not under the tent of any of these four. The forum council would receive financial help through these groups and through some of the usual conference income sources, such as registration fees, exhibits, publications, and so forth. The council would plan a two-day biennial conference with major focus on social issues and social welfare policy, program, and structure. The other four days would be devoted to specialized areas, with major responsibility given to the particular specialized groups, but always within the context of planning groups which cut across the total council interest.

In the interim year the forum council, which would have a core staff and budget, could plan smaller conferences and institutes on selected social problems, with the material emerging from these conferences being utilized at the biennial conference. These special conferences might include representation from other groups interested in public policy and from other related disciplines interested in methodological problems. The council might also develop a data bank which would provide trend data on major social problems. In brief, this would make the National Conference a forum planning group in the program-and-goal sense of the term rather than a group with major concern for the mechanics of conferencing. The league experience could provide an essential opportunity for the various major groups to look at problems together without giving up their autonomy. Out of this experience might well come the birth of a national planning structure.

The need for more adequate planning machinery on the national and Federal levels should be evident. With the Federal Government being turned to more and more for resources, Congress is becoming the determiner of priorities. Through legislation it is identifying the areas of social necessity. To date, however, it has dealt frequently with problems more out of political expedience than

within the context of social long-range planning goals. The traditional fragmented approach of the various departments and branches of government, furthermore, tends to add to the confusion and the competition for financial resources. We in social welfare, because of the growing needs and the increasing shortages in financial resources and personnel, have tended to join the grantsmanship train rather than to utilize our experience and creativity in helping to design the architecture of future policy, program, and structure. Perhaps our own needs for status makes the occasional calls into Washington to help sell plans which have been formulated by others a rationalization for an enlarging role for social work. Where, however, are we hammering out the plans which we would like to recommend to the Government for meeting the major social problems of the day?

It is interesting to note how programs of research and demonstration, which have as their major purpose innovation, can become a weapon for holding onto the *status quo*. There has been a tendency in recent years, because of the chronic shortage of agency funds in the local communities, to utilize research and demonstration grants as a substitute for local financing. There is real question as to how much good research can be done if an adequate program of services does not exist. Furthermore, although a community or an agency may feel that it is attaining status and prestige through demonstrations and research, this may not be a guarantee that people in need are receiving adequate help.

Another phase of this same dynamic is seen in the large-comprehensive money-raising efforts on a community-wide plan. Frequently, temporary "togetherness" becomes the ticket of admission for these funds, without sufficient testing of the readiness of the groups involved for a cooperative venture and the meaningfulness of the project under consideration. Some of these comprehensive ventures are in serious difficulty and are being held together by political glue more than by the meaningfulness of the programs.

Many of the problems which we have been discussing may not find a solution unless we are willing to explore major ideological changes in our society. Slogans, such as war on poverty, have helped to make the problem visible and to get the country debating the

issue. They will prove inadequate, however, if the purpose of the war on poverty is primarily political and first aid in nature. If, on the other hand, the "war" will rally the nation for an evolving program of social reform in the name of social justice, much will be gained. We know that the war on poverty, as now conceived, will not of and by itself solve the unemployment problem. The opening up of opportunities is predicated on the assumption that jobs are available and there for the asking. A large public works program should be on the drawing board. As pointed out by Leon Keyserling, "billions of dollars must be poured into filling such unmet needs as rebuilding cities, erecting schools and hospitals and mass transit systems, sharply increasing social security payments and providing medical care."¹⁰ Furthermore, it will take time to get adequate training and retraining programs under way. If transition plans, including expanded welfare programs, are not developed, we may find more and more people becoming part of the chronic hard core. Again, unless there is total planning on economic and social problems, we may find ourselves continuing to go from crisis to crisis. The situation is even more acute because of the racial issue, the solution to which is so intimately tied up with our ability to find the answer to poverty and unemployment. We may well owe a debt of gratitude to the Negro revolution which is making more visible a number of social problems affecting the population in general. These problems have been crying for action and solution. The Negro revolution is forcing us to look with more vigor at such basic issues as automation and education.

It is needless to point out to social workers that the major social and moral issue of the day is that of racial integration. The solution of this crucial problem cannot be found within our existing institutional arrangements since we have excluded Negroes from them on either a *de jure* or a *de facto* basis. The rights and liberties which Negroes seek are not ours to give in the sense of charity. These are rights and liberties which belong to the Negro in the same way that they belong to any of us. In brief, it is not a question of our giving something which is ours to give; it is more a question of giving back that which we have been withholding immorally and illegally.

¹⁰ Marjorie Hunter, "Poverty War Debated," *New York Times*, May 17, 1964, p. E5.

Enactment of the Civil Rights bill is a must. One of its values is that it is a reaffirmation that the first self-evident truth includes the Negro. Of and by itself, however, it will not provide the solution to the Negro's need for education, jobs, and housing. The future of democracy is dependent on the solution of the racial issue since failure to solve it will destroy the basic tenets on which democracy is founded. Social work has much to offer in furthering this important social cause, providing we can move with both our hearts and our heads. The scientific response to an individual's problem is not always the same as the human response to a societal problem. There is a difference between aiding a victim of injustice and fighting the injustice itself. Much of our institutional arrangements are more geared to helping the victim than taking responsibility for the injustice. In this period where a malignancy has been diagnosed in our democratic society, first aid will have to give way to major surgery.

The field of social welfare can contribute greatly in this period of rapid change if we can move toward a reorganization of our own institutional arrangements and create the necessary machinery for exploring creatively and adventurously the architecture of future welfare policy, program, and structure. It is clear that merely more of what we are now doing is not the answer. The first stage in helping to design a new architecture is a willingness to think anew and to open our minds enough to give new ideas a proper hearing. For some people this has the element of giving someone a signed blank check. There is the fear that one is giving up one's total possessions for something unknown. It may help to keep in mind the observation by John Gardner: "We tend to think of innovators as those who contribute to a new way of doing things. But many far-reaching changes have been touched off by those who contributed to a new way of thinking about things."¹¹ In a field which at times rewards the conformist more than the dissenter, it becomes all the more important constantly to reevaluate our normative habits, attitudes, and beliefs.

My concern at this time is not so much with the inability to detail specifically the architecture of future welfare policy, programs, and

¹¹ John W. Gardner, *Self-Renewal* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 30.

structure as it is with the absence of the necessary machinery to move in this direction. It is the resistance to change and the holding onto existing structures for "dear life," not realizing that the life we save may be our own but not necessarily that of our clients. One of the crucial ideological issues of the day may well be whether or not the producers of the knowledge and skills which get translated into services will make the policy decisions on how such services are to be provided and distributed, or whether the provision and distribution of services will become the concern and responsibility of the community in general. Adequate medical care, for example, may well depend on an answer to this question.

We are at the crossroads of a new era, one which can bring our democratic heritage to maturity and see the fulfillment of the first self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," or one in which our democracy which was founded in freedom can be destroyed by a state of mind which resists innovation. The closing of physical frontiers brings many problems, but the closing of the frontiers in the realm of ideas brings strangulation to a democratic society.

Have we as a field lived in the climate of adjustment so long that our muscles for innovation and social change have atrophied? I do not believe that the *status quo* is our state of mind. Ours has been too rich a heritage in working with and for the disadvantaged, in serving as the conscience of the community in periods of stress and change, to falter now. I am confident that "we shall overcome."

Value Dilemmas Facing Communities in Social Change

by ABBOTT KAPLAN

WE CAN DEAL HERE with but a few of the value dilemmas that are facing communities in change. Perhaps we ought first to examine what we mean by "values." What do we really mean when we use the word? Our values hinge basically on our conception of the nature of man. They are not simply a matter of dogma, of law or regulation. They are based on our conditioning and insights concerning the purpose of life and the relationships between human beings and their fellows. These values consist of our true feelings and views and the standards by which we judge man's actions, including our own.

These standards include a wide range of ethical, moral, and social judgments which influence or guide our thinking and behavior. They include the qualities we admire in people as against those we do not. Our values and standards are not monolithic or entirely coherent. They are products of many strands in our tradition and of many epochs. They are not always compatible or consistent and not infrequently are even mutually contradictory.

There are the older, traditional values of preindustrial society. Stemming largely from the Judean-Christian tradition, they were also influenced by Greek philosophical and aesthetic concepts and by Roman legal and political thought. Among the values deriving from the religious tradition are love, faith, charity, justice, responsibility for one's fellow man, and the notion of reward in the world to come for virtue and good works in this life. At the same time, this tradition condemned theft, murder, adultery, usury, unfair exploitation of labor, and so on.

In the medieval period there was no sharp distinction between the religious and the secular. There was one society, with one unified set of values common to both aspects of life. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the dualism between secular and religious values was clearly evident.

The Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism introduced new values. Religious movements reflected these changes. While the Reformation and Puritanism did not create capitalism, they provided, as Weber points out, a congenial environment for its growth.¹

Writing about the thinking of Puritan leaders in the eighteenth century, R. H. Tawney comments:

Naturally, therefore, they formulate the ethical principles of Christianity in terms of a comfortable ambiguity and rarely indicate with any precision their application to commerce, finance, and the ownership of property. Thus, the conflict between religion and those natural economic ambitions which the thought of an earlier age had regarded with suspicion is suspended by a truce which divides the life of mankind between them.

The former takes as its province the individual soul; the latter, the intercourse of man with his fellows in the activities of business and the affairs of society. Provided that each keeps to his own territory, peace is assured. They cannot collide, for they can never meet.²

And this has been basically true. Even so crucial a problem as the problem of equality of opportunity, of the dignity of one segment of our population in terms of its humanity, has not really aroused the church until very recently, and then only because of external pressures and events. Of course, the same may be said, not only of church people, but of educators and social workers as well. It is the Negroes themselves who have finally aroused us to our moral duties. For a hundred years we have ignored them completely and continued to preach doctrines of equality, of fraternity, turning a deaf ear and a blind eye to what was happening before our very eyes.

¹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958).

² R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: New American Library, 1952), p. 229.

Now, aside from adding a halo of ethical sanctification to the appeal of economic expediency, Puritanism became a vehicle of strong utilitarian individualism, a stanch advocate of the credo of faith and hard work which has persisted in various ways down to our own time.

We protest, we profess that we teach a set of values. We teach our children these values when they are very young; not so much when they get older, because they may interfere with the more practical aspects of life if taken too seriously. In our everyday lives we frequently ignore completely the moral and ethical values we so freely espouse on Sunday, and on conference platforms, and perhaps even in the university.

We are all culpable. We are all parties to the silent conspiracy which accepts the dichotomy between avowed ideals and actual practice. The most effective way to learn desirable values is not through moral preachment but by example, by imitation and emulation, by watching the rest of the world, by watching our parents when we are young, our colleagues when we are older. The pressures of society condition these values without our actually being aware of them or ever having voiced them.

It is perfectly apparent that ours is primarily a business civilization, an acquisitive society that strongly influences and shapes human values and moral judgments. The predominant mores and behavior seem to say that we place material things before other values, that it is more important to get ahead in business than to love one's fellow man. We are constantly making such choices without especially articulating them or thinking of them.

For example, we say that someone is "a very businesslike fellow," or a "hardheaded businessman." And we say it with overtones of approval. He is a practical man. He gets things done. Mostly, we mean that he makes a lot of money and is therefore "successful."

And we will say of another person: "Oh, he's just a do-gooder." Now, what worse epithet is there than "do-gooder"?

Yet, why is it so terrible to do good? Is not this precisely what our morality, our religion, has taught us for years? That we should do good? That we should love our neighbors as ourselves, that man is responsible for his brother, that, in the words of John Donne,

"No man is an island unto himself. . . . Ask not for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee?"

On the one hand, we preach high-sounding ideals and values; on the other hand, we use terms of derogation, such as "do-gooder." Such terms and our unthinking acceptance of them are far more revealing of our actual values than what we may say in the classroom, in the church, in the lecture halls, or even at social work conferences.

Until we can bridge the gap between our theoretic values and our actual values, until we can with some justice claim that those desirable values, which we really feel are the best reflections of the human spirit, are exemplified in our behavior, we are going to have the ambivalent, schizoid, and anxiety-ridden society that we have today.

Let us now examine a number of other conflicts and contradictions in our value system. One of the important emphases of Puritanism and early capitalism was on thrift. Not only were frugality and thrift encouraged, they were considered great virtues. Capital was scarce and in great demand. Business enterprise requires capital in order to grow and expand. The encouragement of savings for the accumulation of investment capital was essential to the growth of the new industrialism. This virtue, then, was in harmony with the austere religious attitude of the Puritans and with the growing needs of a new business civilization.

Today, however, the problem is no longer scarcity of capital but underconsumption. And what has happened to the traditional and time-honored virtue, thrift? Several years ago we were flooded with appeals to spend, to help overcome the current recession. Today, with an unemployment rate of almost 6 percent, it is practically unpatriotic to be thrifty. If we are thrifty today, we may be depriving someone of a job.

So spending and making things expendable have become essential aspects of our economy and influence our attitudes and values in other areas as well. From time immemorial, goods and services were produced to satisfy patent needs. Now we produce goods regardless of whether people need them, regardless of whether people want them. We go on producing them, and if they do not need or

want them, we make them want them. We tell them that Elizabeth Taylor has twelve pairs of shoes, and therefore four or six are not enough; or that Cary Grant gets a new car every year, therefore he obviously must too. All the subtle and not so subtle devices of Madison Avenue assault us at every turn and through every medium, exhorting, cajoling, enticing—sometimes even threatening dire consequences to our health or status if we do not buy, buy!

We are developing built-in obsolescence in many articles lest people use them too long and hence delay purchasing the new model, the new product. And so, gradually, time-honored values, not only of thrift but of work and craftsmanship, become outmoded. Quantity and volume and uniformly machined quality of a prescribed level—rarely of the highest—have replaced the pride of craftsmanship and tend to suppress the instinct for workmanship that Veblen talked about.

And this, of course, endangers and brings into question other values. The executive talks about cooperation, about teamwork, about loyalty to the company, but what can that mean to a worker who has no really intrinsic interest in the work that he is doing? He is there to earn a living, to draw his wage, and he cannot have any satisfaction in the kind of moil and toil that the machine imposes upon him.

We are talking about dilemmas in a changing community and perhaps should talk for a moment about the nature of this community. Again, since the Industrial Revolution, and caused by it, we no longer have the clearly defined, encompassing community to which man belonged and with which he identified completely. Our communities are, in a sense, multicommunities. Our loyalties and our identifications are multiple. We live not only in the local community, but in the wider geographical community of the county, the state, the nation, and, indeed, of the world.

One might say that this was always true. It was, and it was not. It was not in the sense that never until today has the impact of social forces and events outside our local community had so direct and relevant a bearing on our daily lives. The county government, state legislation, Federal legislation, events abroad, what happens

in Mississippi, echo in and affect our local community. What happens in Southeast Asia, in Africa, in Europe, affects us very directly in terms of our tax rate, in terms of the location of certain kinds of industries. It affects the employment situation so that, indeed, far more than in the time of John Donne is no man and no community an island unto itself. And that is perfectly obvious.

We are members of multicomunities in another sense in that increasingly we have built pyramids in our organizational and communal life. We are not only members of a local church, of a local professional organization, of a local political party, but we also have particularized national, and even international, allegiances in religious, welfare, professional, or scholarly areas. We have so many special interests and special loyalties that our communities are highly complicated today.

Now, the urban community itself is a great phenomenon of our time—we do not always realize its full implications, however. We all know that this is an industrial civilization. We know that there has been a great growth of urbanism in recent years. We know that technology has wrought fantastic changes in our lives. But we do not really recognize that historically this is so comparatively recent an occurrence that the values which were developed many hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of years ago reflected needs and problems quite different from those we face today.

For example, if Akhnaton, one of the famous Pharaohs and the first monotheist among the Egyptians, were to have come alive again at the time of George Washington, some 6,000 years later, how different would the world of George Washington have seemed to Akhnaton from the world he knew in Egypt? Not very much! In Washington's time, 95 per cent of the people were living in rural areas just as they were at the time of Akhnaton. Farming was done by crude and simple implements which were already known in Egypt. The technological devices unknown to Akhnaton that existed in the time of Washington were very, very few indeed. The Egyptians had already discovered the use of metal; they had already invented the wheel and the lever. They already knew something about astronomy and had developed a calendar. Was trans-

portation any different in Washington's time? Not at all. By wind or oar in the water, by domestic animal and wheels on land. There were no power-driven vehicles in either period.

You see the point I am making. For over 6,000 years there was little change in the way people lived their daily lives. But life has been completely transformed during the past 100 years. Such mobility as ours man has never experienced before. Twenty-six percent of our population live in states in which they were not born. We have seen the enormous migration from all parts of the United States to the West, and from the country to the cities and to large, anonymous, metropolitan areas.³ It is only since 1920 that the great majority of our people shifted to the cities, with all that entails. With a 300-year history of living close to the soil, in small communities, involved with family in a very close way so that all its members were part of the collective enterprise, the people of this nation now find themselves in cities, unrelated to those around them and less and less involved in community life.

You have read, I am sure, of the recent attacks on two women in New York, one of whom was killed. People heard the screams. In one instance, spectators actually watched the attack and heard the victim screaming for help from the doorway of her house. People stood by and did nothing, did not even call the police. This was not their affair. How does this jibe with "loving one's neighbor" or being our "brother's keeper"?

These are the kinds of value dilemmas we face—a complete contradiction of what we have been taught to believe, or avowedly believe, and the way we behave in our everyday lives.

We could go on and on to enumerate these contradictions. The problem of poverty is one to which we are only beginning to wake up, and in a country which, for the first time in history, has actually mastered nature so far as our physical needs are concerned. Today, in this country, we have all the means available so that there is absolutely no reason for anyone to go hungry, to be poorly sheltered, or to have inadequate educational opportunities.

We have values, traditional values of charity, of concern, which

³ It is estimated by the Twentieth Century Fund that 72 out of every 100 people will be living in standard metropolitan areas by 1980.

should stimulate us to solve the problem of poverty. But these are contradicted by the values of competitive enterprise, the need to make a profit. Until these dichotomies and inconsistencies are resolved, we will continue to live in an ambivalent society.

It is interesting to note that Congressman Snyder, who voiced criticism of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's farm, did not go down to that farm because of his concern for poverty. His visit was politically motivated, of course. Upon his return he was quoted as saying: "I don't think low economic living conditions in the United States today are in any way unique. We had them 188 years ago when this country was founded."

Is the Congressman suggesting that poverty is a time-honored tradition, an American value which we must preserve? If it existed at the time of the Revolution, must it be good, must we keep it and preserve it?

Then we have a candidate for the Presidency suggesting that people who are unemployed are unemployed because they are lazy and do not want to work, and suggesting on various occasions, either the abolition of social security or making social security voluntary. I do not know which course would have the more emasculating effect on social security.

In regard to segregation and civil rights, perhaps enough has been said. One cannot avoid pointing out, however, the ambivalence and dilemma. It is not just the Southern whites who have been culpable. Recent figures on the number of segregated schools in Northern cities are appalling. In the nine major cities, as many as 40 or 50 percent of the schools had over 90 percent of Negro children. Now, this is indeed a dilemma. Even if we open up all our schools to free-choice enrollment, what should be done when a city has a tremendous concentrated area of Negro population? Do we transport half of these children to other parts of the city? Certainly, every effort must be made to solve a problem to which we have unthinkingly contributed. First and foremost, however, is the immediate necessity to break down segregated housing, obviously the basic cause of segregated schooling.

One danger which the well-meaning will encounter frequently is the tendency to bend over backward with regard to the Negro. We

must extend all efforts to redress wrong. Nevertheless, there are compensatory and conscience-salving tendencies which can, I believe, lead to an inverse form of discrimination. It is fashionable now in industry, even in education, to get some "show" Negroes. They search desperately to find a Negro whom they can cite to indicate that they are not discriminating.

Now, in some ways this is good. Why not? This is redressing a wrong, finding opportunities for Negroes which previously had not existed. But this is a disservice if the employment of the Negro is not governed by the same criteria that apply when we hire other people. We should open up opportunities to Negroes, not for show, but because justice and humanity and our democratic convictions demand it.

I had a summer session student, a candidate for a graduate degree, from the South. He was an elementary school principal there; his bachelor's degree was from a very poor, segregated Negro teachers college in the South. His training was very inadequate, and I do not believe that he was a first-rate student in any event. He had come for three summers to UCLA, leaving his family each time, in order to get a master's degree. He wanted desperately a degree from a good university, from a nonsegregated university.

In graduate school one must have a *B* average in order to remain in good standing. At midsemester he came to me and said, "I've got to have an *A* in your course because it looks as though I'm getting a *C* in one of my other courses and a *B* in the third." If I gave him an *A* it would give him his *B* average. He would get his degree and would not have to come back for still another summer.

This is the problem I was posed. What does one do? Of course, he knew, and counted on, my feelings I fear.

Now, I am not suggesting any lack of sympathy. The man was terribly lonely away from his family. Coming to school in California had meant great struggle and sacrifice. I said to him, "Look, I won't give you a written exam. You do a paper. You've got three or four weeks. Give me a good paper and I'll give you an *A*."

This was something he would be able to do at his leisure, and I thought it a fair enough solution.

The paper he wrote was not even worth a *C*. It really was not. It was probably a *D* at best.

I was up for two nights thinking about what to do. My wife and I had endless discussions. On the one hand, one cannot ignore academic values and standards, and so on. On the other hand, what about the human problem of this man who desperately wanted a degree and had sacrificed so much? I shall not say what I did because I am not sure I did the right thing, but there is the problem.

Another situation. We have in University Extension some four hundred administrative and nonacademic personnel aside from thousands of teachers. When I came to my administrative post some years back I noticed that there were no Negroes among the staff, which struck me as strange. I asked our personnel head why we had no Negroes. She said, with complete honesty, I am sure, "We've never had any applications." Apparently Negroes had not applied because they did not think that jobs would be available to them.

I instructed her to recruit several Negroes specifically, and after that simply to hire on merit as usual. She did so and took several Negroes who, on the whole, were good, competent people.

After a while, though, the errors in our budgetary reporting accounts became increasingly numerous. I was quite annoyed about it and went down to the business office to find out where the difficulty lay. Apparently, a Negro accounting clerk was making all the errors. I asked the supervisor, "What's wrong? Why do you keep this girl? She isn't any good."

The supervisor stammered a lame reply. It was perfectly obvious. She did not want to fire the girl because she was a Negro, lest she be accused of prejudice. One had to make it plain that this was just as bad as discrimination because what we were really saying was that Negroes really cannot toe the mark. The girl was transferred to a less responsible job where she could be trained.

I do not think that Negroes want inverse discrimination. They want equality of opportunity, an opportunity to do as well as, and to compete with, white people and not to be given special favors. I think this makes perfectly good sense.

Another dilemma lies in the whole area of civil disobedience. If we believe in honoring and obeying the laws, can we condone and tolerate civil disobedience? Again, it depends. I do not think we can be self-righteous and say that people who protest and march

and who happen to trespass or violate local ordinances are to be condemned as lawbreakers in view of the enormity of the moral problem that confronts us. I do not think that anyone can use his own moral judgment to violate the law on a purely personal basis. Still, in the face of long traditional oppression and discrimination, if the only way to bring to the attention of the majority, a minority's needs and hurts and aspirations for equality, I myself would favor civil disobedience. This must have moral justification in terms of the higher good and the higher ideals of our society. I do not think we can be legalistic about it. The civil rights movement has higher moral sanction.

I confess, however, that this stand does raise questions of where to draw the line. Certainly violence in the name of civil rights cannot be condoned.

Another dilemma is encountered in education. Education in the United States has been a peculiar kind of institution. On the one hand, we have respected it and supported it with pride, yet we have had little respect for the educator. It is the businessman, the statesman, the person in the power structure, who has general social approval and prestige.

In education we have tended to become more and more vocational. On the university level, the traditional liberal arts school was intended to educate people, not to license them for a job. Increasingly, however, not only professional schools but undergraduate and liberal arts colleges are becoming, in effect, primarily vocational schools in the sense that the student's motivation is toward a job or a professional school and not toward the acquisition of wisdom or understanding, or toward becoming an enlightened or well-educated citizen.

I know of no more poignant expression of this than the following from Salinger's *Franny and Zooey*. Despite all the books I have read on education and the meaning of education, Franny's remarks have more meaning to me than many academic tomes. Franny, talking to her big brother Zooey, after she has suddenly quit college and come home in the middle of her last year, says:

I got the idea in my head—and I could *not* get it out—that college was just one more *dopey, inane* place in the world dedicated to piling

up treasure on earth and everything. I mean, treasure is *treasure*, for heaven's sake. What's the difference whether the treasure is money, or property, or even *culture*, or even just plain knowledge?

It all seemed like exactly the same thing to me if you take off the wrapping, and it still does. Sometimes I think that knowledge, when it's knowledge for knowledge's sake, anyway, is the worst of all, the least excusable, certainly.

I don't think it would have all got me quite so down if just once in a while—just *once* in a while—there was at least some polite little perfunctory implication that knowledge *should* lead to *wisdom*, and that if it *doesn't*, it's just a disgusting waste of time! But there never is! You never even hear any *hints* dropped on a campus that wisdom is *supposed* to be the *goal* of knowledge. You hardly ever even hear the word “wisdom” mentioned! Do you want to hear something funny? Do you want to hear something really funny? In almost four years of college—and this is the absolute *truth*—in almost four years of college, the only time I can remember ever even *hearing* the expression “wise man” being used, was in my freshman year in Political Science! And do you know how it was used? It was used in reference to some nice old pooppy elder statesman who'd made a fortune in the stock market and then gone to Washington to be an adviser to President Roosevelt. *Honestly*, now! Four years of college, almost! I'm not saying that happens to *everybody*, but I just get so *upset* when I think about it, I could die.⁴

Finally, let us turn briefly to automation and its implications. There is considerable controversy as to what effect automation will actually have in years to come. The Department of Labor estimates that during the past two years, 20,000 jobs were lost, due to automation, each week. The A.F. of L.-C.I.O. estimates that the figure is closer to 40,000; other estimates go as high as 80,000 a week.

In a study of eighteen industries, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in April, 1964, that 3.2 million jobs were lost to automation in just 18 industries since 1952; this in the face of the fact that by 1970 there will be 21 percent more people in the job market.

Now, many economists do not agree with Robert Theobald, the economist, or Richard Bellman, of Rand Corporation. The latter said: “In the discernible future 2 percent of the population at the upper administrative levels will be able to produce all the goods and services to feed, clothe, and run our society with the aid of

⁴ J. D. Salinger, *Franny and Zooey* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961), pp. 145-46.

machines." Theobald is in substantial agreement: 2 percent of our society. Now, what if it is not 2 percent? What if this is extreme? What if it is 30 or 40 percent of the current work force? We are already seeing pressures for a reduced work week in collective bargaining contracts. You may have noted that the Electrical Workers Union has won a twenty-five-hour week in New York City. I dare say that within the next ten years many of the crafts and trades will have a twenty-five-hour week. This suggests that before many years we are going to have an amount of leisure time such as man never dreamed of before. For the first time, man will have an opportunity really to live his humanity. By and large, ours has been a work-oriented society. Many people live to work. They do not work to live, and, in fact they have difficulty in knowing how to live.

We see this so clearly among our retired. Too often, people are effective, active, interested, and purposeful up until the day they retire, and then within a year or two, frequently, they disintegrate. Why should this happen? Why should quitting work, which frequently has not offered intrinsic satisfactions, cause people to disintegrate? The truth is that we have never learned how to use our leisure time. Leisure time has been to us non-work rather than leisure time. It seems to me that we now will have the opportunity to develop the kind of civilization that the Greeks talked about and, indeed, embodied, although theirs was based on a slave society.

The Greeks had no such interest or concern or virtuous admiration for what we call "work." That kind of work was assigned to slaves. The business of life for the Greek was living. His involvement was in civic affairs and artistic creativity. His preoccupation was with esthetics and philosophy, but our adults have no such preoccupations by and large.

Yet we are at the threshold of an era when the machine can play the role that the Helots and the slaves played in the Athenian civilization. Whether we succeed hinges on a reevaluation of our lives, of our values, and our purposes and aspirations as human beings. The opportunity is certainly here. It is ours to seize.

*The Human Consequences of Social Change*¹

by ROBERT L. BARRE

BERTRAND RUSSELL, A MAN WHO has been observing the earth for some time, said in his *History of Western Philosophy* that social cohesion and individual liberty have been in a state of conflict or uneasy compromise throughout the history of Western civilization. That, from 600 B.C. to the present day, social leadership has been divided between those who wished to tighten social bonds and those who wished to relax them. Between disciplinarians who, distrustful of man's ability to govern himself, have advocated some system of dogma and have sought social cohesion through authoritarian appeal to the irrational aspects of human nature, and libertarians who, confident of man's ability to govern himself, have tended to be scientific, utilitarian, and rationalistic in outlook, willing to subordinate social cohesion to personal independence. Russell described this dichotomy as false since social cohesion is a necessity, and since mankind has never succeeded in forging social cohesion through rational argument alone. He added that every community is exposed to two opposite dangers—ossification through too much discipline and reverence for tradition; or dissolution through the growth of an egoism that makes cooperation impossible; that civilizations start with a rigid, superstitious system which is gradually relaxed, leading to a period of brilliant genius, then on to dissolution through egoistic anarchy, and so to a new tyranny secured by a new system of dogma. He saw the possibility of escape from this endless oscillation through the doctrine of liberalism.

¹ This paper was delivered at the Lindeman Memorial Lecture.

Liberalism, developed as recently as late in the seventeenth century, accepted the Judaic-Christian idea of the supreme worth of the individual and looked upon law as cramping the natural goodness of man. It saw the purpose of the state, not as enforcing a common standard of prescribed conduct, but as maintaining a system of rights, or protected liberties, with no more restraints than necessary to preserve the society—a society which obtains its social cohesion through the empathy and altruism of equal, responsible individuals.

This nation was established as just such an experiment in liberalism. It was born in reaction to tyranny. Its primary institutions were formed with full awareness of the delicacy of the precarious balance between individualism and egoism, of the ease with which the latter could slip the nation into a new form of tyranny. Its institutions provide for retention of tradition, but foster experimentation and accommodation to change. While a wall was erected between Church and State, the religious tradition of the supreme worth of the individual was accepted as the basic purpose of the State. The concept of the equality of man gave substance to the ideal of individualism and was realized in institutions which seek to maintain an equilibrium between the diversity of individualism and the dissolution of egoism, between the complexity of freedom and the anarchy of license, between the perplexity of personal responsibility and the simplicity of central control.

From its beginnings this society has regarded individualism as a goal to be sought rather than as a right to be protected. As a result, the society has sought to create a climate in which its members could freely seek self-fulfillment, evolve the fullest potentialities of the human personality. The evocative force of this vision of individualism—the American dream—has proved to be infinitely fruitful, but it has also churned society into continuous social change and has required that the people constantly adjust to, or invent, new forms of social patterns, and remain alert, both to the preciousness of and the precariousness of their freedoms.

It is within this philosophical framework that the human consequences of social change are most relevant to social policy and social therapy. For it is from within our historical context that the

profound social changes we are experiencing today could lead us into danger. Danger of acceding to the demands of those who see disorder in our diversity and urge for authority to stamp out both; danger of being seduced by those who look to escape personal obligations through the socialization of security; danger of being hoodwinked by those who, for personal power, eagerly use their own ends to justify the means of all; danger of being eroded by the irresponsible and frivolous who just can't be bothered; and, yes, danger from the weak, the timid, the hurt, the confused who, fearful or weary of the exposure of individualism, willingly would trade their freedoms for the "somnambulism of the hive," their personal responsibility for group conformity, their pursuit of happiness for proscriptions of convention.

Ours is a high-risk system. It demands faith built on intellectual commitment, courage founded on ethical conviction, and determination to implement our democratic principles. For it takes these qualities to place one's life in the hands of unknown others, to trust strangers to deal wisely and honorably with the management of the institutions most important to one's self. And it demands as much or more unflinching fortitude to accept the social obligation to serve the interests of others, and deep altruism to maintain ceaseless concern for their welfare. Crane Brinton reassuringly says: "A very great deal of the Western way of life is embedded somewhere in quite ordinary Americans, not in their cerebral cortexes, probably, but in a much safer place which the physiologist hasn't quite located—we used to say, in the heart."²

This heartfelt way of life was easier to achieve in the more comprehensible life of the extended family and communal settlements where role relationships were sufficiently stable for the cultural ideals to be communicated and realized in the informal daily routine. Our change from communal to corporate society, which is rapidly moving to completion, and the ever-growing segmentation of activities, relationships, and people in our corporate society have greatly increased the difficulty of maintaining our high standards of benevolent individualism, or even, for that matter, of remaining

² Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 546.

aware of their existence since we have less opportunity to see them in action.

It is interesting that the transition itself, although it engenders cultural confusion and painful personal and social costs, is serving the inestimable value of confronting this frenetic "advanced" society of which we are so proud with the embarrassing realization that in our hustle toward "progress" we are letting slip our very reason for being. The Negroes' drive for civil liberties is a direct result of their move from the comprehensibility of communal life to the confusion of corporate existence. Their migrations from an ascribed to an achieved social situation brought home to them in an unbearably painful manner their real status in American society. Because economic existence in corporate society is dependent upon the ability to achieve status in economic roles, the migrants, finding themselves arbitrarily excluded from participation in the status system and, therefore, unable to ensure their own survival needs, are in desperation holding our own professed ideal of the dignity of man before us. We are fortunate to have their help to shake us out of our mesmerized stampede toward purposeless progress.

The shift from communal to corporate life has significantly altered the culture and the social structure of the nation. Independence has become interdependence. Cooperation has become a commodity to be purchased. Status, money, and power have become the attributes to be won. The subsistence of all has become the business of all, but, as is usually the case with matters that are everyone's business, it is the responsibility of no one. As a result, availability of subsistence has become the concern of each—despite the obvious "affluence" of the society; however, access to subsistence has become indirect and only to be obtained through successful participation in the play of the economic system, the capriciousness of which soon became evident to all.

The provision of basic subsistence has become so precarious an activity that earning a living has grown to dominate the attention of the society. Economic security is best insured through improving job status and through managing to remain employed. The first, job status, entails social mobility; the second, remaining employed, entails geographical mobility. Social status has become economic

status; for only those who contribute directly to the production system are deemed valuable by society.

Therefore, competition pervades all aspects of life, from the market place to every individual. The cooperative life of communal society has degenerated into hostile tensions between those who are in actual or potential competition with one another. People compete for status within the same role and between roles. Supportive, affectional relationships, which are based upon empathy and altruism, give way to divisive, contractual relationships, which are attained by advocacy and negotiation. Women vie with men for social approval, competence, money, and status. Sex relationships are distorted by rivalry for mates, and competition continues after marriage in the struggle for dominance in leadership, in strategy and tactics to advance the family's status and security—even for the love of the children.

Competition, instead of alleviating the anxiety of insecurity which originally brought it into being, enhances it. The insecure, competing individual, seeking to reduce his intolerable anxiety, unburdens himself of encumbrances. He seeks to be free; free to change his dwelling, free to follow employment, free ruthlessly to cut the emotional ties of family, friends, and community, free to betray his own and others trust, and, finally for some, freed of conscience.

That these flights hide under the noble word "freedom" spells trouble. If America is to continue to consider herself the "land of the free and the home of the brave," freedom cannot come to mean escape from facing responsibilities and obligations. These "freedoms" shatter, not only the individual, but those who love, sustain, and support him. For his sake, they think they must withdraw—leave him free to run, to hide, to seek, to pretend. And so the extended family becomes an attenuated loneliness and guilt, which is appeased by an occasional telephone call or card, or a snatched yearly visit. A defensively alone conjugal family then emerges to face society warily from the safety of their cave—I mean apartment, vertical or horizontal.

When security becomes the most desired goal, the inability to achieve it produces fear. Fear resulting from the continuous hostile

tension between individuals; fear of failure because failure means loss of economic, social, and psychological security. Failure carries, not only the prospect of economic deprivation, but loss of social prestige, and the accompanying degeneration of self-esteem. Fear of failure, continuous competitive striving, and inability to attain security are enhanced by the inability to understand one's relationship to society. The individual is confronted with a series of unresolvable contradictions. Contradiction between an excessive emphasis on success and the ultimate value system's sanctioning of benevolence and altruism; contradiction between the stimulation of needs and the inability to satisfy them; between the alleged freedom of the individual and his increasing psychological, economic, and social dependency.

The stress on economic values to the exclusion of all others, reinforced by the perpetuation of the frontier ideal of an individual being equal to all trials, by the survival of rural-communal concepts of cooperation and mutual responsibility, and by the intermixing of diverse cultures, both foreign and domestic, presents the individual with a bewildering array of conflicting behavioral prescriptions. It leaves him unable to erect a workable hierarchy of values, or to fasten upon a specific set of goals. Is it any wonder that he learns to seize immediate opportunity with no regard for long-range or more basic interests; to satisfy immediate desires at the sacrifice of higher but seemingly remote and impractical ideals; to improvise conduct in confronting new tactical situations, ignoring or intentionally sidestepping the norms of the society; to justify "getting away with it" because if he doesn't someone else will; to see economic success as the only realistic test of achievement and, so, scramble ends and means until they lose all meaning?

The need for affection, stimulated by the anxieties, insecurities, and hostilities of competitive life, is apparent in the rising marriage trend and in the lowering marriage age. Romantic love becomes the modern magic, the alchemy that dispels all danger, heals all wounds, salves all self-doubt. It reduces the sense of isolation, desolation, uncertainty, failure, and carries the illusion of peace, identity, security, success. I do not say that romantic love, or our need for it, is an illusion but, rather, that it is asked to satisfy needs

and desires which have nothing to do with it and is, thereby, weakened as a force for personal enrichment and social integration.

Marriage and the resultant conjugal family become illusory havens from the dangers of a restless, incomprehensible, impersonal society, the contradictory influences of which penetrate discretely to each member of the family and render it unable to serve adequately its members' needs for companionship, understanding, and fulfillment. A family's capacity for supplying these needs depends upon its own spiritual maturity, upon the predictability of the behavior of each of its members, and upon each member's physical presence. But, each member is under constant pressure of conflicting pulls which, simultaneously, require his attention in different places or for different purposes; such as, the home and the office, the television set and family conversation, study and play, "togetherness" and introspection, socializing and socialization.

Nevertheless, the family, like the individual, does indeed protect each member from each other and from outside danger, outside criticism—all the way from justifying baby Johnny's taking neighbor Sally's toy to "My child, right or wrong, can do no wrong" against organized social discipline; the schools, the neighborhoods, the courts.

Is this really protection? Cannot this failure to convey responsibility, based on personal integrity, endanger, not only each person so defended, but the very fabric of society itself? Does it even, and I find this poignant, sustain the blindly protected individual? Can such a person see life clear and see it whole? Knowing, on the one hand, that he can never admit even to himself that he can do wrong, can he, on the other hand, ever do right? By what yardstick can he measure?

Such overprotectiveness is, in part, wrapped up in guilt. The parents betrayed, for excellent reasons no doubt, their obligations to their own parents, and their rationale is fit only for the psychiatrist's couch. Now they have children. Now they are parents. They cannot be safe in the certainty that their children will care for them when the awful calculus of life expectancy against life savings is finally upon them; when, shelved at sixty-five, feeling worthless

because judged useless, they will need the respect, appreciation, and assistance of their children. They cannot admit that they are not safe. And so they overcompensate, and their insecurity robs them of balance, of confidence; makes them fearful of alienating their children, of losing their love, through discipline, or even implied disapproval.

Yes, the typical American family has become small and, although pervaded by contradictory forces and emotions, searches for affection and mutual security from competitive society by introvertedly drawing into a tightly defensive integrated mass while its individual members extrovertedly escape furtive ambivalence through contemporary cliques. Cliques to which each member brings his full measure of personal hostility, self-righteousness, need for reassurance. From such unions a stream of group suspicion, sanctimoniousness, and sanction for distrust of "outsiders" can pour, like lava, to sear social growth and lay waste reasonable discourse.

The structure of society is thus being transformed. Transformed from the integrity of family and function, the clarity of community and cooperation to the fragmentation of person and purpose, the complexity of clique and competition. Specific interest groups, differentiated by age, sex, occupation, status, or need provide temporary paths to power and are absorbing the social control of the society.

Can good come from such beginnings? George Santayana wrote:

My heart rebels against my generation
That talks of freedom and is slave to riches,
And, toiling 'neath each day's ignoble burden,
Boasts of the morrow.

But let us not forget that we have just opened the cornucopia of corporate society. So successfully are we solving man's age-old problems of scarcity, physical suffering and illness, toil, ignorance, and superstition that many inherited aspirations are becoming anachronisms.

Yes, I do think good can come from such beginnings. Not by looking back with longing for the ways of communal life, but by facing up to the realization that, on the bedrock of liberalism, we

are painfully, falteringly erecting a national community. To social welfare falls the responsibility of alleviating the pain and smoothing the highway to the new community. You can only succeed in this high mission if you perceive the texture and extent of the social change we are experiencing.

Without doubt a national community is in the making for, as transportation converted sectionalism into regionalism, communication is converting community of place into community of interest. Although buildings still huddle in rigid patterns—still called cities—the pattern of life is that of movement and change. Increasing mobility of the population is decreasing interest in place, and improving communication is destroying provincialism of outlook and simplicity of belief. Urban sprawl is not a city; “sluburb” is not a community. A house has long since come to be thought of as a negotiable investment rather than as a way of life to be passed on to one’s children. Transiency of residence has bred transiency of interest in local affairs. Such attention as is paid to local government is that of opposing capital investment, minimizing local revenues and expenditures, and passing the cost of public services on either to neighboring municipalities or to higher echelons of government. How else might we explain our failure to supply our own minimum standards of facilities and services for the education of the post Second World War generation? Or to correct the physical decay of our urban areas?

Since nobody expects to be in a given place very long, networks of relationships are established independently of physical proximity. This is reinforced by the long periods of time spent away from the home—the husband in a remote plant or office; the wife similarly distant if employed, or shopping in a far-off supermarket or regional shopping center, or visiting friends who have common interests or ambitions rather than common property lines; and the children away in distant consolidated schools or, for those who can afford it, in very remote schools and colleges. Even the period of time spent in the home raising the children is being shortened as socialization is being passed off to a concatenation of play schools, nursery schools, kindergartens, or day care centers. (Under President Johnson’s poverty program these services may be extended

to many who could never have afforded them, passing the cost, by the way, to a higher echelon of government.) The richer the family, the larger the orbit of its activities, but much money is not needed to extend the orbit to the sovereign boundaries of the nation and beyond since transfers, temporary assignments, company travel, and expense accounts underwrite the transportation. Shortly, government subsidies may extend the benefits of travel to the unemployed and the poor, as governmental agricultural policy has extended them to the farmers, and as government highway, reclamation, military, and urban renewal policies are extending the benefits of travel to whomsoever happens to be in the way—a process which is likely to increase as the population grows.

If disenchantment with local government is increasing, its origins are in realms other than those I have discussed. The origins lie in the rural-dominated state legislatures' long-standing preference for viewing cities as sources of revenue rather than as places for expenditure. The cities' struggle with their state governments over taxation and services goes back to the first days of the nation, and the state courts have repeatedly found states to have complete jurisdiction over cities within their boundaries. So, as creatures of the states, cities were powerless to raise revenues to supply their own service needs without prior approval of their states, and state legislatures could invariably find superior uses for available funds. (I have never heard it advanced, but would wager that a good case could be made for the entry of private philanthropy into welfare on the basis of this issue alone.)

The big break for the cities came with the depression of the 1930s. The massiveness of the financial collapse found the states as incapable of meeting the welfare needs of their citizens as they were of curing the ills of an interstate economy. And, so, the love affair between the citizens of the cities and the Federal Government began. Powerless in the malapportioned state legislatures, they discovered unrealized powers to influence the Federal Government, and devised carrots to win the cooperation of state governments in distributing the largess of the Federal Government—the collective wealth of the majority.

The growth of the Federal Government's participation in the

internal service needs of the states paces the development of a national sense of community. With this growth, citizens began to look beyond municipal and state boundaries for power to care for their own problems. Initially, Federal funds were considered as revenue for local government, but, with the increasing mobility of the population, the people are managing to make the funds mobile too and, in effect, tie them to person rather than to place. Similarly, in waging the national legislative battles for new programs, or for extension of existing programs, the people began to discover communities of interest which had little or no relationship to local or state political boundaries or, for that matter, to place.

The framers of the Constitution regarded themselves as representing the sovereign people of their respective states; not the people of their sovereign states. Both the Declaration of Independence, the moral charter of the nation, and the Constitution, its legal charter, recognize the ultimate sovereignty of the people. But, the Constitution, being essentially a conservative document seeking to preserve the position of the propertied classes, was not submitted to the *people* for ratification. They might have rejected it. It was ratified by state conventions of the highly restrictive electorates characteristic of that period. Thus, the myth of state sovereignty developed and was reinforced by the play of power through the years.

The interest of society cannot be restricted by incongruous boundaries, and popular recognition of common needs are relentlessly atrophying the vital functions of the subordinate jurisdictions, notwithstanding the recent growth of state and municipal employment and expenditure. After all, the formal organization of the Federal Government is based upon state representation, and this is not likely to change in the foreseeable future. Nonetheless, more and more governors and state representatives are running on national, not local, issues, and are selected accordingly. Municipal governments, on the other hand, are concerned with operating capital plants which comprise the cities, regardless of, or, possibly, enhanced by, the transiency of the population. The local, municipal, and state governments' roles in handling the Federal funds, which the people have managed to supply to themselves through

national legislation, are more indications of an expedient compromise with the realities of the distribution of political power than examples of the vitality of the subordinate jurisdictions of government.

Nationwide recognition that the social interaction we call business had burst the bonds of subordinate jurisdictions came with the establishment of the five major Federal regulatory agencies, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission. Nationwide recognition that the functional problems of the economy required the active intervention of the Federal Government in order to ensure full employment came with the establishment of the President's Council of Economic Advisors and the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, and, in order to ease the discontinuities being brought to employment and work skills by technological change, the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor was established. Nationwide recognition that the social problems of the country needed the financial and functional resources of the Federal Government resulted in the development of the wide array of grant-in-aid programs and the Aid to Impacted Areas programs. Nationwide recognition that the pervasive character of certain social problems required the active participation of the Federal Government is visible in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, and in the soon-to-be functioning Office of Economic Opportunity. Nationwide recognition that the society has a growing number of requirements which supersede and are unrelated to the interests of any state or local government is seen in the direct employment and purchase, through fellowships, grants, and contracts by the Federal Government, of a never-increasing amount of research and development in virtually every area of the natural and human sciences and technologies. And, nationwide recognition that enforcement of major sections of the Bill of Rights required the forceful intervention of the Federal Government in the activities of the state and local governments themselves may be seen in the civil rights and legislative apportionment decisions of the Supreme Court and Federal courts of lesser jurisdiction.

These are but some examples of the success of the sovereign peo-

ple of the United States in discovering and implementing their functional communities of interest. I see them as undeniable evidence of evolution toward a national community. Someone has pointed out that before the Civil War all literature spoke of the "peoples" of the United States, but after that bloody business was resolved and a union forged "of the people, by the people, and for the people," all literature has spoken of the "people" of the United States.

It is indeed as one people that our efforts to confront common needs show their greatest success. Our concern for the fragmentation of family and function, person and purpose, must necessarily be tempered by our obvious success in overcoming the historical impediments of local politics and bringing these services into existence. Commonality is the essence of community. Although competitive callousness seems explicit, could all this have come about were cooperative concern not implicit?

It would seem that the pain of these new pioneers who are building the corporate society may not be in vain. No more so than was the pain of the original pioneers who built the communal society upon which the corporate society of today is being erected. Through communal society man learned how to live with nature. Through corporate society man must learn how to live with man; for this is the great problem that man faces as his numbers fill the land. And this is the great problem that social welfare faces in fostering commonality and restraining paternalism as the national community continues to develop.

The actualities and potentialities of a national community are both wonderful and dangerous. Since national community makes possible the efficient integration of the voluntary energy of virtually the entire population, it makes obsolete all previous concepts of economic limitation. No one can plumb the productive potential of the voluntary cooperation of 200 million people. No one can sight the limits of its goals—goals entirely out of reach of communal society or, by the way, of dictatorial society, as Hitler learned to his amazement. Goals such as: prevention of war; rebuilding the war-torn societies of Western Europe and Japan; economic development of countries with primitive economies; production and

utilization of atomic energy; elimination of poverty; and, now, even reaching for the stars. However, until we learn how to retain personal control over collective decision, the national community is always in danger of slipping into authoritarianism, benevolent or otherwise. By forming policy *for*, rather than *with*, the electorate, a corporate society becomes a corporate state.

The implications for our day-to-day lives in the operation of a national community might be found in Bertrand Russell's hope that the vicious spiral of civilization from authoritarian control to egoistic anarchy might be broken by liberal individualism. That is, in the difficulties of retaining self-direction when the forces which dominate daily life come from the collective decision of the electorate; of accepting national goals which may be noble but remote and whose worth may be difficult for the individual to comprehend; of restraining progress with purpose and a concern for consequence; of delegating authority but not foregoing personal responsibility; of finding the balance between individual distinctiveness and collective opinion, decision, and action; of developing self-reliance despite the ever-growing pressure for interdependence; of keeping control of oneself so as not to waste energy in meaningless activity which the pace of corporate life engenders; of remaining a participant and not sublimating personality as a spectator or a directionless cog in a bureaucracy; of maintaining integrity of self in the face of great demand for specificity and specialization; of withholding judgments and retaining doubt until meanings can be ascertained; of introspecting for bias in the new relationships that are ever more rapidly emerging; of preserving concern in the face of remoteness of person or fleetingness of contact; of training understanding in the face of social change so rapid as to render the conversation and actions of our children incoherent to us, and those of our parents, irritating—and in preventing the derivative reversal of roles within families; of remembering that difference is not necessarily delinquency, that delinquency may not only be abandonment of responsibility but might also be lack of awareness of social expectation, for when culture is not transmitted it is created, and the abandonment of culture transmission to formal means and explicit codes is, at best, crude and a coarsening of the cultural norms must occur; of sep-

arating the transient from the transcendental, the synthetic from the genuine, the real from the imaginary, the tawdry from the excellent, and truth from falsehood as old words are applied to new purposes and old values are given new meanings; of keeping personal relevance in the kaleidoscope of technological change so rapid as to make skills obsolete almost as fast as they are acquired; of tempering concentration on the future and impending change with memory of the past since loss of awareness of history is loss of guidance of past experience; of never substituting money for mercy, cash for conscience, dollars for deeds, income tax deductions for selfless charity; and, lastly and most importantly, of upholding the dignity of one another for, if the nation loses this, the great experiment in liberalism shall have failed.

These difficulties cannot be resolved by cybernetics and automation. These difficulties suggest direction for the evolution of social welfare's future role. While machines may outmode human productive activity and depersonalize human relationships, the longings, aspirations, hurts, and troubles of human beings will forever need human comprehension, human consolation, human benevolence, and human charity.

The national community is the one into which the vitality of Americans is pouring. Social welfare must raise its sights from the pain of the person to the infirmities of the society—expand its participation in the formation of national policy. For, as automation drives employment to the social sector, that is where the problems of society are being caused and confronted; that is where national decisions must be tempered with a decent concern for social relevance and social consequence.

Like it or not, we have been committed by an idea so intriguing that we cannot turn from it; so challenging that we dare not fail to live up to it; so difficult that we are all but overwhelmed by it.

Emerson said: "Our culture is the predominance of an idea which draws after it this train of cities and institutions." May I add that our science and technology may be seen to be voiding old permanences, overcoming old limitations, bursting the cultural bonds, atomizing the social structure, and making our world fluid and volatile.

We, who are changing our concept of community and being changed by our own unprecedented drive toward a national community must not fail to remember that our own essential idea—the liberation of the individual mind, spirit, and heart—is only beginning to reveal its power, and is as bright with promise as at its dawning. Only as we keep wisdom to think the unthought; honor to do the right; valor to right the wrong; and faith to cherish and hold high the best of our hopes and ethics shall we be worthy of the new world.

A Framework for Analyzing Social Work's Contribution to the Identification and Resolution of Social Problems

by HERMAN D. STEIN

and IRVING SARNOFF

ALTHOUGH THE TERM "MODEL" has been applied to the approach being presented here, we prefer to think of it more simply as a framework for analysis. However, since "model" is what it has been called, we will occasionally employ the term, with the reservation understood. The origins of this model lie in a meeting held some three years ago, under the auspices of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), on social work's potential contribution to the identification and resolution of social problems. During the course of this meeting of consultants, Chairman Nathan E. Cohen, who had somehow sensed that we were thinking along similar lines, asked us to construct this kind of framework. We then developed our ideas to provide a context for the examination of social problems by the various specialists. Eventually, our efforts culminated in a conceptual outline for the written reports on social problems which the NASW has now published.¹ During the course of subsequent give-and-take, the framework was modified and elaborated, but it remains essentially as it was initially proposed.

Clearly, the orientation we have followed is only one of a num-

¹ Nathan E. Cohen, ed., *Social Work and Social Problems* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964).

ber that are possible, and there are difficulties with it. We wished, however, to build in provisions that would:

1. Compel us to take nothing for granted that is significant, to make sure that we turn over each rock of hidden bias or assumption, and take a good look
2. Question the premise that social work is naturally doing good, and is hindered in solving social problems only by absence of more social workers, more agencies, and more of other resources
3. Identify the additional knowledge that social work must have in order to make more rational decisions regarding the scope and strategy of its interventions.

To these ends we were concerned with searching systematically for conflicts of values, not only between social work and the values of the larger society, but within social work itself; with compelling an evaluation, through the structure of the model, of programs now being sponsored to see whether they serve, to any extent, to perpetuate the very problems they were designed to prevent or resolve. Moreover, we wished to adopt as nonparochial a view as possible, recognizing that social work is one among many social institutions, and that, with respect to broad social problems, the field's potential influence may range from very low to very high impact, but would rarely, if ever, be totally decisive.

The approach does not give detailed consideration to specific techniques of intervention, or to social work processes. Instead, it focuses attention on definable objectives for the profession. To achieve these objectives new modes of intervention may have to be developed, or certain old ones perfected. Our task, in short, was to help develop an approach by which social work could assess its potential contribution to the identification and resolution of social problems.

The model is not intended as a sequence of consecutive steps in an analysis of social problems, but rather as a disciplined way of thinking about them so that the most significant issues will be addressed. It was assumed that theories from the behavioral and social sciences would be drawn upon throughout the application

of this framework, particularly in considering the etiological sources of the diverse problems, the consequences of changes in values, of selecting priorities for change, and of other elements to be specified. While the model may appear abstract indeed as presented, illustrations of all points abound, particularly in the papers prepared for *Social Work and Social Problems*.² The social problems dealt with there, with this framework as a working basis for analysis, include: racial discrimination, poverty, marital incompatibility, child neglect, unmarried mothers, the broken family, and deterioration of the inner city.

In considering the application of the framework to particular social problems, three important factors should be kept in mind:

1. The sources and intensity of values inside and outside social work that impinge on the problem
2. The forces inside and outside social work that have the effect of maintaining the problem
3. The forces which currently exist in and out of social work that are directed toward reducing or resolving the problem.

The steps of the framework, not to be rigidly viewed as consecutive in a time sequence, follow:

I. The Nature of the Problem Itself

A. Definition of the Problem

1. What, for example, does "poverty" mean, or "mental illness," or "deterioration of the inner city," in conceptual and operational terms?
2. Who "suffers" from the problem? In what ways?
3. Who defines it as a problem? Why? One cannot assume that every social problem is recognized as such throughout the social structure. Who says it is a problem? Why do they think so?
4. Who does *not* define it as a problem? Why not? Is it due to ignorance of the situation, or to knowledge of the situation, with, however, the point of view that it does not constitute a social problem?

B. Etiology of the Problem

1. Are its sources inherent in the social structure?

² *Ibid.*

2. Are its sources inherent in the individual personalities of those who share the problem?
3. Are its sources located in existing organizations designed to cope with the problem?
4. Found in transitory social phenomena, such as an international crisis, for example?
5. Found elsewhere?

There is now no consensus on what constitutes a social problem. Is a social problem one that concerns large numbers of people, each of whom happens to suffer from the same individual difficulty—like appendicitis or dandruff? Or does it uniquely pertain to problems which, to some appreciable extent, are rooted in the social structure and can therefore be prevented or controlled, in part, by modifications in that structure rather than by the provision of more of the existing services to those who are suffering from the problem? Or does it include both? We took the societal or social structural view, recognizing that it is far from universally acceptable.

Since we are interested in social work's contribution to the identification and resolution of social problems, we must confront the relationship of social work's values with those of the broader society. We cannot assume either congruence or incongruence between the two, nor can we assume that the values and norms of either are entirely homogeneous or always even known.

II. Norms and Values

A. Societal Norms and Values

1. Are there any norms and values that support the existence of the problem (for example, in crime and delinquency)?
2. What norms and values oppose existence of the problem?
3. What norms and values are relatively neutral?

B. Social Work Norms and Values

1. Which of these norms and values support the existence of the problem?
2. Which of these norms and values oppose it?
3. Which of these norms and values are neutral to it and uninvolved?

This scrutiny and testing of assumptions lead to a quest for incentives of change that are rooted in value positions opposed to the perpetuation of the problem, in the terms defined. Where social

work's values are engaged, but are not those of society at large (for example, with respect to unmarried motherhood), one set of considerations would obtain. However, quite a different set would be involved where social work values and modal norms of society are similar (as is true for dealing with physical illness, and may be becoming more true in meeting social problems of mental illness).

We next look within social work at activity related to the problem.

III. Current Operations—"the Actual"

A. Social Work Operations related to the Problem

1. If one looks only at what is actually being done rather than what may be said, how does the social work field really seem to be defining the problem?
2. What are the implicit value positions that seem to undergird the actual ongoing operations?
3. To what extent do these implicit definitions and values, as exemplified by what is actually going on in social work programs, compare with the norms of society?
4. To what extent are these implicit norms and values within social work congruent with the declared and explicit values of social work?

We then raise the same series of questions about:

B. Non-social Work Operations³ Directed to the Problem

1. Implicit definition of the problem
2. Congruence of values with modal societal norms
3. Congruence with social work norms

In other words, what is now being done about the problem, either with or without social work participation? Is the total consonant with social work values? The answer, in effect, maps the existing situation.

Finally, in looking at "the actual," we encounter the consequences of the continuation of the present complex of social work and non-social work operations. Suppose they all went on for long periods to come, what are the results likely to be?

C. Consequences

1. For the extension or diminution of the social problem?

³ These may be more extensive than social work operations.

2. For the social work programs related to it?
3. For the non-social work programs related to it?

Moving from the actual state of affairs, we posit the notion of the ideal state of affairs.

IV. Objectives—"the Ideal"

A. Goal

1. What is the most desired goal of social work in respect to the problem?
2. What is its social change objective?
3. What do we really want to happen?

B. Implications of This Ideal Position

1. For the relationship of the most desired goal to existing societal norms and values?
2. For the change in societal norms?
 - a) How much can be done if societal norms are opposed?
 - b) Is there a need to try to change these norms before the problem can be effectively tackled?
3. For the relationship of the valued ideal to the existing norms of the social work profession and to our organizational framework?
 - a) What may have to be changed within the field's own institutional patterns to move the actual nearer to the ideal?

We then seek to visualize an entire program that is consistent with the analysis of the etiology of the problem and with social work's value position. This, in turn, is broken down into:

C. The Sector Appropriate to Social Work

1. In view of our existing definition of social work scope and function
2. In view of a possibly revised definition of that scope and function

D. The Sector Appropriate to Non-social Work

1. Identification of non-social work interest groups involved with the objectives of the program
2. The relationship of social work to each of these interest groups.

We thus try to conceive an optimum program, based on the ideals of social work and related both to social work and non-social work activity. Finally, we examine the relationship between the

actual and the ideal, to discover a viable program for moving forward, beyond the field's present effectiveness in dealing with the problem.

V. Relationship between the Actual and the Ideal

A. Gaps between the Actual and the Ideal

1. What is the nature of the gaps?
2. What programs are needed?

B. Resistance to Closing the Gap

1. Does the source lie within social work? (Let us not assume that there is no resistance. We may have our own *status quo* investments in either economic or ideological terms or both.)
2. Does the source lie outside social work?

C. Support for Closing the Gap

1. In social work
2. Outside social work (We cannot afford the assumption that social work is the only or, necessarily, the most important force for positive change.)

D. Action Priorities for Social Work

1. In operations directed toward society at large—direct services, educational, or social action programs—
What can social theory contribute to our understanding of the strategies useful in modifying general values?
In introducing or encouraging countervailing forces, how can social theory aid social work to come closer to ideal solutions to the problem?
What kinds of knowledge do we need to obtain in order to resolve the impasse between the actual and ideal, in knowing more precisely what it is we should want?
What changes in social policy are needed, if existing social policy is incompatible with social work's values?
2. In changing existing norms and organizational framework within social work itself

Does the existing structure of social services require modification?

3. In relation to non-social work groups and forces, what are the relationships among service systems, organization of the profession, and the power structure of society?

These three steps are designed to map the indicated changes in policy for which social work can take initiative and responsibility, which lead, in turn, to:

4. Action sequences (alternatives within a total set of priorities) offering the greatest potential for reducing or preventing the problem. (Here, too, social theory comes into play in helping us to evaluate probable consequences and, therefore, in enabling us to make more rational decisions regarding the relative effectiveness of different means for achieving positive results.)
5. The needs in theory and research (other than the accumulation of available facts but not in our possession)

Can we specify the theoretical exploration needed to help us understand the etiology of a particular problem better? Or would it be necessary to test, through systematic empirical research, any program designed to move us ahead in relation to this kind of analysis?

Important preliminary work has been done by those who have tried to use our framework in examining existing social problems. It is the questions and answers arising from their work, and from similar studies in the future, that are most valuable, and that merit continued exploration. Our framework is only one means of assisting such explorations, of helping them to be more consistent guides to knowledge and action. Undoubtedly, the guide lines we have suggested will be revised and alternative modes of analysis will be forthcoming, as experience accumulates.

Social Change Implications for Policy and Practice

by ARNULF M. PINS

SOME OBSERVERS OF SOCIAL WELFARE have charged that social agencies and their professional workers are not deeply involved in dealing with the key social problems that face the nation and that many social workers are neither well informed about the major social problems nor too concerned about them. They have also charged that social workers do not know how to cope with these problems and are doing very little to increase their competence. The 1964 National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) clearly demonstrated that even if some of these accusations were once valid, they do not accurately reflect the current situation.

The theme of the Conference and the focus of many of its sessions indicate that the total field of social welfare is deeply concerned about social problems. They further give evidence that social work has made a major start in analyzing social problems—their nature, causes, consequences—and has begun to explore ways to deal effectively with the immediate amelioration, gradual elimination, and, if possible, eventual prevention of social problems.

This article includes: (a) an overview of the Conference program, dealing with social trends and social problems and their implications for changes in social work policy, practice, and education; (b) a detailed report of the Post-Forum Workshop and its action proposals; and (c) the writer's attempt to convey the flavor of the discussions and to interpret the significance of the deliberations. The report of the workshop represents a synthesis of eight group discussions. The selection, emphasis, and organization of the

recorded material are the writer's and reflect his understanding and interest.

While we are living in a time of change, it is not the change which makes our present situation unique but the rapidity of the change and the nature and seriousness of its impact. Current problems seem more numerous, massive, and complex than those at any previous period in history. The nature both of the problems and of their causes suggests that they are basically problems of dysfunction of the social system rather than merely of the individual. These problems are a major source of suffering for many people, a threat to our democratic society, and a challenge to many professions, especially social work.

The rapidly increasing visibility of social problems, the slowly growing concern for human welfare, and the general fear of the consequences of inaction have produced an atmosphere which seeks and demands new answers and fresh approaches. Social welfare is doing its share to find them.

It is recognized that individuals and institutions are affected by changing social conditions, but it is also accepted that they can produce and influence change. Unfortunately, our knowledge and skill lag behind our needs and goals. We know much about how society transmits culture but relatively little about how culture is changed. Still, we know more about the nature of social change in society than we do about the processes of planned change.

The present concern with social problems and the search for their solutions provide social work with an opportunity to be heard and to play a vital role. The dearth of knowledge and experience in all fields about social change complicates the task for social welfare and for social work profession.

The objective of social welfare, as reflected in the 1964 Conference, is to make significant and comprehensive advances in dealing with social problems. Social work seeks to find, not only control measures for problems, but basic solutions. In addition, it hopes to prevent the development of future social problems. To achieve these objectives, social welfare is intensifying its study of the nature and causes of social problems, evaluating past and present efforts

to deal with them, considering prerequisites and alternatives for eventual solution of the problems, and developing proposals for action which can gain the necessary information and find the best ways of intervention. In the analysis of factors helping or hindering the solution of social problems, social work practice and education are included. No assumption is made that only outside factors are responsible for social welfare's relatively limited success with social problems. There is also recognition that, in the development of action programs, new structures of service, methods of practice, and forms of intervention may be necessary. Special work done by the profession prior to the Conference and activities since will make early achievement of the objectives a reasonable expectation.

The main concern of the 1964 NCSW, as reflected in its theme "Social Welfare's Responsibility to Communities in Change," parallels the current interest and involvement of the social work profession, as expressed, in part, through a special project on social problems sponsored by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW). This NASW project stimulated and influenced the scope and emphasis of the Conference's Division program on "Social Change Implications for Policy and Practice" and made possible a unique and productive way of analyzing social problems and their causes and of considering potential methods and strategies for bringing about needed changes.

The purpose of the NASW project, which was financed by the Ford Foundation, was "to define more clearly the contribution of social work to the solution of social problems." The results of the first phase of the project have been published under the title *Social Work and Social Problems*.¹ Nathan E. Cohen, director of the project, makes clear that the interest in the project grew from a concern that social work could and should do more than merely attempt to help individuals who are affected by social problems. He stresses that it was necessary and desirable to explore the knowledge, attitude, and skills the social work profession is now bringing, or could potentially contribute, to both the solution and the preven-

¹ Nathan E. Cohen, ed., *Social Work and Social Problems* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964).

tion of social problems. The project sought to explore possible patterns of intervention in social problems, among other aims.

A task force of leaders in the field developed a framework for analyses of social problems, chose a number of problems for study, and selected individuals with special competence to prepare papers. A model for analysis was developed by Herman Stein and Irving Sarnoff. An outline of the model appears in the Introduction of *Social Work and Social Problems*. A detailed description and explanation of the model was presented by Stein at a plenary session of the Conference.²

The group responsible for the project consciously sought to avoid several common past tendencies and potential pitfalls. It was decided to take nothing for granted. The model for analysis had "built-in" provisions to insure that the writers "turn over each rock and hidden bias or assumption, and take a good look." In keeping with this focus there was incisive and persistent questioning of the premise that what social work is now doing and seeks to do is good and that the solution of social problems could be achieved by social work if there were more social workers and agencies and adequate resources to support them. Furthermore, efforts were made to refrain from using individual treatment and program instruments for diagnosing the larger social problems and to avoid fragmentizing social problems, social institutions, and the needs of individuals. Considerations were not limited to dysfunctions "officially classified" as social problems. It was also recognized that social work is only one among many social institutions attempting to deal with social problems.

The model developed by Stein and Sarnoff called for consideration of five major areas: (a) the nature of the problem; (b) the societal and social work norms and values affecting the problem, (c) the nature and consequence of current social work and non-social work programs dealing with the problem (the "actual"); (d) the social change objective (the "ideal"); and (e) the identification of gaps

² See Herman D. Stein and Irving Sarnoff, "A Framework for Analyzing Social Work's Contribution to the Identification and Resolution of Social Problems," in this volume.

between the actual and the ideal and consideration of factors that affect the closing of these gaps.

Major Social Trends and Social Problems

Effective amelioration of present social problems and the possible prevention of future ones require early identification and analysis of social forces and trends which cause and shape current problems and contribute to their future development or reduction.

The major social forces and resultant conflicts were underscored and analyzed in keynote papers presented at the Conference, and the significant social trends were highlighted and summarized in a special publication prepared for the Conference by the Welfare Administration of the Federal Government.³

Abbott Kaplan explored many of the social changes taking place in the lives of all people and in the general environment which are producing new patterns of behavior.⁴ His analysis dramatically illuminated the fact that many of the new ways of behaving are in conflict with social, economic, and political beliefs considered basic to American democracy.

Robert L. Barre, in another paper,⁵ presented in graphic detail the human consequences of recent rapid social changes. He described the potential dangers of the social changes for the individual and society and pointed as well to their potentials for good.

A factual basis for the discussion and analysis of the major social problems facing our rapidly changing, highly industrialized society is available in *Converging Social Trends, Emerging Social Problems*. Data compiled by the Division of Research of the Welfare Administration clearly reveal the forces which are causing social problems, contributing to their extension, or preventing their solution.

This publication, the address of the President of the National

³ *Converging Social Trends, Emerging Social Problems* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

⁴ See Abbott Kaplan, "Value Dilemmas Facing Communities in Social Change," in this volume.

⁵ See Robert L. Barre, "The Human Consequences of Social Change," in this volume.

Conference on Social Welfare,⁶ and almost every paper presented at the Conference refer to the changing face of America. This frequent use of social trend data for evaluating and developing social welfare policies and programs is not new. Some aspects of the current concern about social trends and forces are somewhat unique and certainly significant. Seldom have so many facts been assembled and analyzed together as a prelude to projecting action programs. Only recently has the recognition that social trends change constantly and quickly and that most are intrinsically interwoven been considered in the assessment of existing programs and the development of new services.

The key social trends, highlighted by the Welfare Administration summary and undergirding the detailed analysis of special social problems by the NCSW, included the changing character of the population, the growing economy of the nation, and the educational needs and achievements of its people.⁷

CHANGING CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

While immigration to the United States has slowed down in the past decades, an increase in births and a decline in deaths have caused the population to rise at an accelerating rate. In 1964 the population passed 190 million; it is expected to go over the 300 million mark before the year 2000.

The population has also become highly mobile. Over one fourth of all the people in the United States live in a state other than the one in which they were born. The West has gained most from this population shift. The shift has not been only geographic. There has been, for some decades, a constant and ever-growing movement from farms to cities. Today almost two thirds of the people in the United States live in or near large metropolitan communities.

There has been a substantial increase in the number and proportion both of young people and of older people in our population. Today about 40 percent of the people are under eighteen years of

⁶ See Nathan E. Cohen, "Future Welfare Policy, Program, and Structure," in this volume.

⁷ For the detailed data on which the following generalizations are based, see *Converging Social Trends, Emerging Social Problems*, pp. 70-96.

age, and about 10 percent are over sixty-five. There are more women than men, especially in the older age group.

While the trend toward early marriages has leveled off in the past decade, the fact remains that today over 60 percent of all women and over 30 percent of all men are married by the time they are twenty-one years old. There has been little change in the size of the average family; it continues to consist of three to four members. There has been change in other areas, however. For example, there has been a 50 percent increase in households headed by women, constant increases in the number of divorces that involve children, and in the number of children born out of wedlock.

THE GROWING ECONOMY OF THE NATION

The gross national product of the nation almost tripled in the last two decades. During the same period the median income of families almost doubled; however, there were major differences between the incomes of white and nonwhite families and between those of urban and rural residents. While more than 90 percent of the labor force is employed, between 5 percent and 7 percent has been unemployed in recent years. Unemployment is far greater among those who have little education. The mothers of more than 9 million children under twelve years of age are currently in the labor force, mainly for economic reasons. Their number has been increasing and is expected to continue to grow.

Most families today spend two to five times as much on pleasure each year as they did two decades ago. This can be seen in the sales of radios, television sets, records and musical instruments, sports equipment, private boats and planes, and in greater attendance at both participant and spectator commercial amusements. Despite the growing affluence, however, there are more than 30 million Americans, about a sixth of the nation, who earn less than \$3,000 annually. While a large proportion of the population spends millions on luxury items, a smaller but substantial percentage of the people cannot afford to pay for the basic necessities of life, such as health and medical care and decent housing. The poor contain a greater proportion of women, nonwhites, older people, less educated people, and rural residents than do the more affluent. The poor are concen-

trated in certain sections of the country, especially the South, and in the big metropolitan cities.

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEEDS

At the present time only half of the adult population has completed a high school education. Young people in the United States today, however, are getting more education than did their parents or grandparents. It has been estimated that by the end of this decade almost three fourths of our youth will complete a secondary education before they leave school to take jobs. The median number of years of schooling of nonwhite and rural persons is two to three years lower than for the rest of the population. Moreover, about one million young people drop out of school each year. Nevertheless, it has been estimated that seven out of every ten young people who start a secondary education complete it, and almost half of those who graduate from high school go on to college. Despite the substantial increase in the number of students who entered college in the last decade, the educational needs of the nation's economy outpace the educational attainments of many of its citizens.

These major social trends, as well as others, are both "indicators" of progress and "danger signals" that warn us of existing and emerging social problems.

Two major social problems, until recently forgotten or hidden, are poverty and racial discrimination.

The poor, by and large, are "tucked away in city slums, mountain cabins, and the shacks of desolate farms and labor camps, they seldom see or are seen by the prosperous majority."⁸ As a group they have less education, have more older and more sick people among them, have less medical care, and greater unemployment. The skills they possess are needed less and less in an ever increasingly mechanized society. Many receive public assistance. Nevertheless, they must continue to live in poverty because of low minimum standards set by state welfare departments and because many states, even with Federal aid, pay only a part of the standard that the state agencies themselves set.

A greater percentage of the nonwhite population than of the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

white population is poor. Racial discrimination reduces the non-whites' share of the nation's wealth, even when they possess the needed skills and education. For example, despite the critical shortage of trained manpower, the nonwhite college-educated worker usually earns less than his white counterpart. For the less well trained, the difference in opportunity for employment and earning power is even more striking.

Two facts that underscore the severity and complexity of these two social problems, and the need for urgent and major intervention, must be highlighted. First, the "escape routes" which were relatively effective in the past, and are still commonly assumed to solve most problems of hardship, are employment and education. Today, however, many factors not within an individual's control determine his ability to obtain an education and to succeed in it, and to find employment which will enable him to earn an adequate income and raise his standard of living. Second, due to circumstances beyond the control of the poor, and especially of the non-whites, their children are growing up without the education, health, or cultural heritage required to change their position in life. In fact, automation and our more and more complex industrial society will cause them to have an even smaller share of the nation's wealth in the future. Without intervention, their problems will not diminish; in fact, the social problem will grow.

Poverty and racial discrimination are not the only social problems which are closely interrelated. The sharp contrasts between the affluent majority and the impoverished minority have caused other problems, such as lessened motivation and heightened frustration. The fact that so many of the impoverished have moved to the urban centers and the affluent have shifted to the suburbs has made the large city particularly vulnerable to society's ills.

Even a superficial recognition and analysis of social trends and the symptoms of dysfunction indicate the pervading presence of critical and growing social problems. These problems already affect many individuals and groups and society as a whole; they also portend more serious trouble for the future, unless massive corrective action is taken immediately. Papers on ten key social problems were presented by the experts who had been commissioned by the NASW

project on social problems. Seven of these papers appear in *Social Work and Social Problems*: a study in depth by Norman V. Lourie on poverty; by Werner A. Lutz on marital incompatibility; by Elizabeth G. Meier on child neglect; by Lawrence K. Northwood on Deterioration of the inner city; by Helen Harris Perlman on unmarried mothers; by Otto Pollak on the broken family; and by Whitney M. Young, Jr., on racial discrimination. The Conference also heard papers on crime and delinquency, on psychosis, and on antisocial groups, by Alfred J. Kahn, Leon Lucas, and Catherine V. Richards, respectively.

Many of the speakers used the model for their analysis of the social problem under review. All explored the definition and etiology of the problem, and the societal and social work values which affect it. Of particular significance were the descriptions and evaluations of current social work services in relation to the problem. While the majority of the speakers and those who commented on their papers recognized that most of the various past and present efforts and services of social work had been helpful, to some extent, practically all found them lacking, especially in relation to the basic needs of society and the expressed goals of the profession.

Many indicated that the programs and services were too few in number. "The social services available to individuals affected by psychoses are far from adequate," says Lucas. Social work service to deal with and to prevent marital incompatibility, according to Lutz, "even in cities in which it is provided . . . is quite limited." The analysis of services in relation to specific problems also suggested that in some areas the services offered and the methods used are not the kind needed or those most effective. For example, Lourie points out that social work's focus in connection with poverty has been "confined largely to stopgap measures." Meier feels that "some of the traditional emphases of casework serve the client poorly in cases of child neglect." According to Young, social work's impact on racial discrimination is limited because of its "fanatical preoccupation with methodology and technique and a frantic avoidance of things controversial" and its emphasis on adjustment "at any cost." Kahn decries the fact that most agencies working with criminals and delinquents "delegate responsibility for service and

treatment to subprofessionals." The fact that social work emphasizes help in marital conflict over premarital counseling is seriously questioned by Pollak. Similarly, Richards feels that instead of acting on residual problems, social work should express itself in "creating and implementing plans equal to [its] basic commitment to the perfectability of man." Northwood, in looking at the problems of the inner city, finds that "it is seldom that local agencies become directly involved in long-range planning for housing and community development." Perlman emphasizes the "outstanding deficiency of resources for the illegitimately pregnant nonwhite woman."

Those who commented on the papers and the general discussions supported the assessment of the limited scope and effectiveness of current social work services. In general, all called for more leadership on the part of social workers, better coordination of services, and changes where needed of priorities, structures, and methods. There was much praise of the efforts to increase the field's knowledge and understanding of social problems and to define the role of social work in relation to them.

Understanding the nature, causation, and consequences of social problems is not an easy task. Knowing what to do to reduce, eliminate, and prevent social problems is even more complex. It is obvious that the knowledge and skill of many fields and professions will be required.

The Post-Forum Workshop

Various papers presented at the Conference analyzed the scope, nature, and effectiveness of current social work services in relation to existing and emerging social problems. Most of the speakers and participants in the discussions which followed the presentations urged the social welfare and the social work profession to find new ways to improve the quality of services and to increase the impact on the amelioration, elimination, and prevention of social problems. Without doubt, the papers deepened and broadened the understanding of those who attended and frequently, no doubt, pricked their social and professional conscience. To capitalize on and channel the new knowledge, enthusiasm, and perhaps impa-

tience, of the participants and to help them effect needed changes in their communities and in social welfare, the Conference conducted a special one-day Post-Forum Workshop.

The idea of a Post-Forum Workshop was first developed and tested by the NCSW in 1963, to follow up the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments with action proposals based on the urgent need and new opportunity for change. The report of that workshop, *Guidelines to Action—for Progress in Public Welfare*,⁹ is being used throughout the country.

The 1964 Post-Forum Workshop had as its theme "Social Change and Social Welfare." The key objectives of the workshop were to "identify what is inhibiting change in the social welfare structure to adapt it more effectively as an instrument of constructive social change" and to "formulate strategies for dealing with the social problems related to current social change." A representative group of lay leaders and professional workers from public and voluntary agencies on the national, state, and local level participated in the workshop. The group included individuals from all sections of the country, both urban and rural, and a representation from policy-making groups. Their views and recommendations were representative of the field of social welfare and warrant intensive consideration and follow-up.

Norman V. Lourie served as chairman of the workshop. Eight workshop groups, each consisting of about twenty members, met concurrently for approximately eight hours. Their round-table discussions were initiated by a charge and challenge presented by John B. Turner, chairman of the Division meetings on "Social Change Implications for Policy and Practice," and by a paper analyzing the current social climate, summarizing key public welfare issues, and suggesting approaches to their solution, given by Joseph H. Meyers, Deputy Commissioner of Welfare of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Turner urged the participants to be courageous and thorough in considering all the changes needed in social welfare policies, services, and structure. He also emphasized the necessity to explore

⁹ Dorothy B. Daly, ed., *Guidelines to Action For Progress in Public Welfare* (Columbus, Ohio: National Conference on Social Welfare, 1963).

deeply, frankly, and without defensiveness the barriers to accomplishment which exist within the field of social welfare itself. Meyers pointed out that "great inroads have been made against the public indifference and unawareness that have hitherto been a major obstacle to the development of effective and aggressive programs." Social problems, especially poverty, have not only become visible, but actually "hold the spotlight of the national stage." Meyers stressed that at the present moment there is an unusual opportunity for successful action if the field moves quickly. He suggested that the field attain "a wartime sense of urgency" and pressed agencies, professional personnel, and lay leaders to "forego our peacetime paces, throw out the nonessentials, and streamline our operations to achieve maximum results in minimal time."

The workshop participants were vigorous and ruthless in their analysis of obstacles to change. They were courageous and creative in their consideration of action needed to bring about change. Furthermore, they concluded with immediate and specific suggestions for individual professionals and the field as a whole to bring about decisive and speedy "victories" in the "war" on social problems.

Obstacles to Change

It was recognized that factors both within and outside social welfare are obstacles to effective and speedy solutions to social problems, but major consideration was not given by the workshop to the non-social work forces that are hindering needed change. Detailed analyses were made of these factors in connection with the ten major social problems presented to the Conference and studied by the NASW project on "Social Work and Social Problems." Nevertheless, a few general observations were made by the workshop participants on non-social welfare factors.

Social problems are frequently not recognized nor are their consequences always visible. Too much planning is done *for* people, without the guidance of experts, and little attempt is made to involve those who most need the service or are most affected by it. People in general and government officials in particular tend to *think* in broad and national terms about social problems, but usually they *act* in more isolated fashion. Because of these and other

factors many laws and policies established to help people and to cope with problems actually prevent services from reaching needy groups or dealing with the causes of problems.

The workshop identified many problem areas within the field of social welfare itself. The workshop participants concluded that until recently the major obstacle to more effective intervention by social work in social problems was the limited view and perspective of the social welfare field. They felt that proposals for action were limited to programs and methods in existing patterns of service; they saw the need for new and different approaches.

The shortage of professional manpower and the education, attitudes, and competence of available professional personnel were seen as key impediments to changes needed within social work to enable the field to make a more significant contribution to the solution of major social problems. It was emphasized that unless more students are recruited for professional education, and unless graduate schools of social work expand in size and number, there will not be enough professional workers to provide either existing or new services. Since the traditional and major concern of social work has been with treatment, most workers have better preparation and more experience in treatment than in activities geared to attacking the basic causes of problems and working toward the prevention of problems. This fact, it was felt, will naturally contribute to some resistance by many professional workers to placing equal emphasis on the prevention role. It was also realized that workers will be somewhat reluctant and perhaps unable to assume leadership in areas where they have had limited experience and little success. There was general agreement that the field has set for itself objectives in dealing with social problems which are greater than its tested competence and has been given more policy approval and financial support for some of its proposals than it can act upon because of its inability to recruit adequate manpower.

Two other factors within social welfare considered to be obstacles to new and better services were the agencies in the field and the financial support of services.

Even though the workshop participants felt strongly that the

availability of more money for services was not the key element in overcoming the relative ineffectiveness of social work in dealing with social problems, they recognized that lack of funds can often impede planning and the expansion and/or improvement of present services as well as the development of new services. On the one hand, it was pointed out that the present trend in voluntary fund raising was not too hopeful and that local communities are seriously limited in what they can do, even with drastic and imaginative redistribution of resources. It was clear that the infusion of new money is necessary if existing or new local social work agencies are to deal effectively with basic social problems. On the other hand, it was agreed that the project method used by foundations and government to distribute funds, while responsible for many significant innovations, also had some undesirable consequences, such as the lack of continuity and the shaping of programs and plans to meet the requirements of granting agencies.

There seemed to be agreement that the present structure of social work services reflects to a large degree the historical development of social welfare and the nature of human needs at an earlier period. This structure is not always adequate for today's needs and seems largely unsatisfactory for preventing and/or dealing with future social problems. Social problems tend to center on certain individuals, families, and groups, but the needed and available services to these groups are usually fragmented and often unrelated to each other.

The programs of individual agencies and services, both public and private, were considered, through their intake procedures and/or eligibility requirements, to have inherent deterrents to the availability of services and therefore usually could not have a major impact on social problems. Most participants felt that few communities have adequate broad comprehensive planning approaches and mechanisms to deal with such problems. The fact that many social welfare planning groups do not have a close relationship with public agencies and officials, are not representative of all interests in local communities, do not involve other interests and disciplines related to planning, and have limited communication with regional

and Federal bodies was considered a major factor in delaying or at times precluding the development and implementation of effective programs.

Other obstacles mentioned but not discussed at length included the middle-class values and attitudes of social work staff and agencies, the lack of communication among social workers in different fields of practice, and the relative paucity of theory and research in community organization method and other social change techniques.

After considering the urgent need for action and the obstacles to change, the workshop discussion groups articulated key *action objectives and prerequisites*, identified the various *targets for change*, and also suggested *specific immediate next steps*.

ACTION OBJECTIVES

While participants in the discussion groups selected various problems and issues for exploration, their observations and recommendations seemed to cluster around basic major themes. The four key action objectives examined by the workshop participants were:

1. Early identification of social problems and exploration of the existing and potential role of social work in relation to them
2. Acquisition of public understanding of existing and potential social problems and support for their immediate amelioration and future prevention
3. Development of more comprehensive and effective social welfare services to deal with basic social problems
4. Procurement of personnel adequate to need and optimum utilization of available personnel appropriate to tasks.

The exploration of these major objectives led to various significant observations and specific suggestions, highlights of which follow:

Early identification of problems and exploration of social work role.—Knowledge and understanding are prerequisites for any meaningful planning and significant action. The workshop participants therefore called for the dissemination of more information about social trends and problems and underscored the importance of obtaining such data regularly and quickly.

The development of a system for responsible central data collection on social conditions and their stimulus for, and impact on, social problems was suggested. Such "data banks" could be established by state and Federal governmental groups and by private agencies jointly or working together in close cooperation. The data banks could serve as "listening posts" to make possible "instant visibility" of social problems in a way similar to early detection of epidemics or other health threats by the public health services.

These data banks of social trends and listening posts for social problems should be supplemented by national and regional continuous inventories of available resources in the form of agencies and services which could be utilized in attacking relevant problems.

Individual agencies were also encouraged to set up special units whose function would be to note changes which affect the needs of individuals, the neighborhood, or the community and which call for changes in the focus, nature, and methods of services provided by the agency.

The regular intensive collection of "social-ecological intelligence" could provide a key element in developing new planning approaches more appropriate to dealing with broad basic social problems.

The participants underlined the need of social welfare for a comprehensive picture of social problems in order to define the areas in which social work has the primary function and those in which it should work primarily with other professions and disciplines. While those in the workshop discussions did not delineate the specific scope and responsibility of social work in relation to social problems generally or to specific individual problems, they did stress certain functions and roles which should be emphasized in the future.

Social workers were called upon to take responsibility for, and initiative in, making the social ills of the nation and their human consequences known to the general population and to governmental leaders. They were encouraged, as individuals, as a professional group, and as part of agencies, to "create discontent with existing conditions" and to stimulate receptivity for the considerations of possible solutions.

Another role given special emphasis was the participation by social workers in policy and planning activities related to social problems. The "indirect" and "after-the-fact" way of attempting to affect policy, relatively common until recently, was asserted to be too slow and ineffective. Only as social workers play a leadership role and aggressively engage the community power structure can they be involved in the formulation of policy and in planning activities which will develop, or at least not hinder, effective services.

Throughout the discussions it was reiterated that the mobilizing, planning, and remedial roles are interrelated and interdependent and not mutually exclusive.

Acquisition of understanding and support.—Various ways of achieving greater public understanding of social problems and support for social work and other programs to deal with them were suggested. Increased communication with "all levels of officialdom" and the mass media was mentioned as one strategy for effecting better understanding of the causes and consequences of social problems and the need for services. Social workers were advised to reach the public and its leaders through the profession as well as through agencies. Agency aid to the development of neighborhood and other "grass-root" groups and indigenous leadership were also listed as important means of bringing about understanding and obtaining support. Agencies were urged to involve community leaders, citizens, volunteers, and "consumers" in committees evaluating needs or services and working out programs or policies so that they can learn from and through each other in the process of their activity. It was suggested that laymen should be encouraged to visit agencies and clients so that they can understand the problems more clearly and judge the adequacy of current services. It was proposed that a magazine similar to the former *Survey*, which would focus on social problems and social welfare services and issues, be published for laymen.

It was suggested that in interpretation to gain both policy and financial support for programs to deal with the problems, more emphasis should be placed on the causes and consequences of social problems than on the aims or costs of ameliorative efforts. The

participants also felt that it is most desirable first to demonstrate optimum social work services before requesting support for massive programs. If and when possible, the economic and social self-interest of all groups in the solution and prevention of social problems should be stressed.

Individual social workers were called upon to express themselves more often, and with greater knowledge and skill, to community groups, governmental bodies, and the mass media. They were urged to "push their way in" if at first they are not "invited." Individual workers were also encouraged to become more active in local, state, and national politics so that they can participate in the selection of political nominees and take a leadership role in writing the social welfare aspects of party platforms and programs.

Development of more effective social work programs.—The workshop discussed the potential contribution of individual agencies, planning bodies, and research to the continuing improvement of social welfare services. Social need rather than agency history, political expediency, or even worker skill, was thought to be the key factor which influences the service of any agency. Both the agency's priority, service, and structure, and the professional worker's role and competence, participants agreed, should be constantly evaluated and redefined in terms of new or changing conditions and needs. They recognized that this constant reassessment requires staff time and involves the total agency in regular, and sometimes extensive, planning activities in addition to direct service. Sectarian agencies were called upon to be clearer in their purpose and its functional relevance to the specific groups they serve as well as to the needs of the whole community. All private agencies were urged to be more active in planning for the community and to keep their programs related to the most pressing communal needs.

Recognizing the numerous existing and emerging social problems, the need for urgent and effective action, and the limited resources and manpower, the participants underscored the importance of coordination and cooperation in planning activities and service programs and the avoidance of duplication and unnecessary conflicts. They called for more intensive and comprehensive plan-

ning, and urged that in planning there be better cooperation among local, regional, state, and national bodies; involvement of both public and voluntary agencies; and the inclusion of physical, health, education, and welfare aspects. They also underlined the need for more local initiative and the necessity for including existing agencies and planning structures. They recognized that there can be no single model for planning that is universally applicable; the specific problems and other local factors must determine the most appropriate and potentially effective structure for planning. A proposal that there might be a separate building or complex of buildings to house various local private and public agencies, as a means to facilitate coordination, stimulate planning, and provide greater visibility, was offered. Another suggestion was that the needs of communities and the functions of all agencies should be reviewed periodically so that the necessity for new agencies, the elimination of some agencies, and the transfer of functions among agencies can be considered.

To improve the effectiveness of social welfare services, better utilization of new knowledge and the expansion of research, experimentation and demonstration programs were emphasized. Agencies were urged to build in evaluation in all new areas and methods of service. The need for research on institutional change, which could help agencies learn how best to change their purpose and program when necessary or desirable, and would also support board and staff involved in agency change, was recognized. Participants also stressed the need for a service which would collect, coordinate, and disseminate all research done in social work or related to social welfare interests or concerns.

Procurement of personnel and their optimum utilization.—A clear definition of social work roles and the differentiation of workers' tasks were considered of highest urgency in order to recruit additional personnel for all levels of service and to make more effective use of available professional personnel.

Agencies were encouraged to mobilize all possible resources and to seek, singly and jointly, to expand efforts to recruit personnel. Work experience programs as well as scholarships and work-study plans were seen as essential in any such program. Special efforts

were suggested to attract returning Peace Corps volunteers to social work careers and professional education. It was recognized that recruitment warrants and requires high priority in agency programs, staff assignments, and budgets.

A crash program to develop or expand agency- and school-sponsored in-service training activities was also considered necessary to update the knowledge and increase the competence of present professional staff and to orient and train other staff currently employed by agencies. Workers should be helped to understand different cultural and class orientations, regardless of their own background, to gain increased ability in research, planning, and leadership, and to keep abreast of new research and to apply it.

Workshop participants urged private and public agencies to simplify administrative procedures, employ more technical and supportive staff, and increase the use of volunteers so that professional staff may be free for tasks and roles for which they have been prepared and which they can do best.

TARGETS FOR CHANGE

The achievement of the objectives outlined requires significant change in many people and institutions related to social problems. Three major groups were identified as targets for change: the field of social welfare itself; the groups who bear the brunt of social problems; and other elements in society. Consideration of changes required in the broad community included specific consideration of the nation's general population and government, local communities and neighborhoods, the power structure, and non-social work disciplines and professions related to social problems and social welfare services.

Specifically, it was noted that before seeking changes generally, social work must be clear about its "change objective." There should be no doubt about what it wants to achieve and why. A careful analysis of the values and norms of society and those of the various groups which compose it would help clarify the problems involved in bringing about change and could identify all possible sources of support. Since national opinion affects the views of individuals, and governmental attitudes and policy both affect citi-

zens and leaders and in turn are affected by them, the necessity to see all levels and segments of the public as targets for change was underscored. Limiting efforts toward change to one segment will in the long run prove both uneconomical and ineffective.

Board members of social agencies and members of disciplines and professions closely related to social welfare are crucial targets for change and potential allies in efforts to achieve the goals of social work in relation to social problems, the participants agreed.

The social work profession, the agencies in social welfare, and social work education were explored in the consideration of targets for change within the field of social welfare itself.

The professional association was seen as the key instrument for clearly articulating, sometimes challenging, and, when necessary, changing the values of the profession and the emphases and priorities given to the various functions of social work and the roles of workers. Professional workers were held responsible for acting or learning to function in accordance with the generally assumed values and expressed aims of social work. The administrative and supervisory staff of local agencies and the field staff of national agencies were thought to be good barometers of existing opinions and key factors in cultivating or impeding change.

It was recognized that schools of social work and their faculties carry a unique responsibility for the current supply and quality of manpower to deal with social problems. In the future, social work education could become a bottleneck. Education must expand its resources and explore changes in its patterns if it is to produce the necessary number of staff persons and must take steps to produce professionals equipped to carry planning and leadership roles in programs geared to prevention as well as to treatment of social problems. The educational area of the field will either perpetuate certain current attitudes and practices or be a chief catalyst in changing them.

Significant attention was given to the necessity for seeing the client group as a target for change. The suggestion was made that, despite potential hazards for the agency and probable discomfort of clients and workers, client groups be involved to help define the problems, give testimony to the human cost, develop programs of

treatment and prevention, and participate in their implementation. Client groups can be either a help or a hindrance in conveying needs to the public, establishing and administering needed programs, and gaining support for them. It was emphasized that client groups must be helped to recognize the importance of their participation and their ability to contribute leadership. An objective for both social welfare and client groups should be to have the groups learn to speak for themselves, rather than have social workers or any one else be the sole spokesmen for them. This would bring about better communication between people being helped and those who are doing the helping, between the population suffering from social problems and all those seeking to attack these problems.

NEXT STEPS

In view of the critical urgency for massive and effective action by social workers and the social welfare field in relation to social problems, the workshop participants made special efforts to identify specific steps which should be taken immediately by the social welfare field as a whole, by certain segments of the field, and by individual practitioners.

Three specific suggestions were made for action by the total field:

1. *A seminar-retreat on future social trends and problems.*—A carefully selected group of twenty to thirty social work leaders should meet together with representatives of other disciplines for a three- to six-week period to analyze and predict the social trends and nature of society in the decades ahead and to consider what social work can and should do to deal with future potential problems and opportunities.

2. *A study commission on social consequences of current social trends.*—The proposed commission would study the consequences of such factors and developments as racial discrimination, automation, and mass communication, and would bring its findings to the attention of the general society as well as of the social work profession. It was suggested that the commission be an ongoing group which would deal with new developments as they occur.

3. *A White House conference on social welfare manpower.*—

Since the field's ability to deal effectively with current and potential social problems is largely dependent on the number and quality of personnel, it was deemed essential that the personnel problem must have special and dramatic attention.

A suggestion was made that the NCSW take the lead in bringing together the various interests and agencies in social welfare to launch these three major projects. The workshop participants also offered other proposals for consideration and implementation by specific groups. The following suggestions were made to the profession of social work and addressed to the NASW.

1. *Workshops to train social workers for leadership and social action roles.*—A series of workshops, perhaps on a regional basis, should be held to help social workers improve their skill in speaking out on social issues; interpreting social work values, services, and methods; and dealing with the power structure on local, state, and national levels.

2. *Development of programs to encourage ongoing education.*—While social workers will always need to update their understanding and skill in line with new research knowledge and new problems, it was recognized that this updating is particularly needed now in view of the changing role of social workers and the growing emphasis on prevention in addition to treatment. The suggestion was made that the NASW consider making the periodic completion of refresher courses a prerequisite for renewal of membership in the Academy of Certified Social Workers.

Two specific proposals were made for local and national agencies:

1. *A conference of national agencies on social problems.*—Public and private national agencies should meet together to "look at the job to be done," explore the role that the various agencies can play, and consider the ways in which national agencies can help their local agencies become more effective in dealing with social problems.

2. *Individual agency reappraisals.*—All agencies should be urged critically to appraise their current services and impact on social ills and their potential contribution to the solution of social problems and the prevention of future ones.

The field of social work education was asked to take necessary

steps to assure the availability of personnel able to function effectively in relation to social problems. The Council on Social Work Education was urged to give leadership to:

1. *Review of the curricula of schools of social work.*—The objectives of this review would be to enrich the curriculum for all social work students, to increase their knowledge and competence in the social policy area and in methods of prevention as well as treatment, and to expand the scope of the community organization sequence to produce more social workers competent to develop and implement new programs to deal with basic social problems.

2. *Short-term training programs for college graduates.*—As tasks are identified which can be performed by workers without professional social work education, and college graduates are employed to perform them, special training programs will be needed. These programs should be carefully developed under the auspices of educational institutions. The potential contribution of undergraduate programs in social welfare should also be reviewed.

Specific suggestions for action which can be initiated by all individuals who participated in the 1964 NCSW meetings, and by all who read the proceedings of the Conference, were made by the workshop:

1. *Reports to local groups on presentations and discussions of the Conference.*—Individuals were urged to ask to speak before major local professional, civic, and religious groups to alert them to existing and emerging social problems.

2. *Local workshops on social problems.*—Lay and professional leaders were called upon to set up a series of local workshops to consider social problems affecting their communities and the action necessary to ameliorate them quickly and to prevent other social problems in the future. The field of social welfare should take the lead in initiating these workshops, but other related professions, leading citizens, and officials should be involved in them.

3. *Designs for local action.*—Ways should be developed with, and, or through the existing social welfare structure to approach local agencies, both public and private, and to urge them to consider their own program priorities in light of the problems and to join together in developing comprehensive action programs.

It was thought that the NCSW or the NASW might want to devise guides to aid individuals in these efforts.

The Significance of the Deliberations

Throughout the 1964 Conference, and especially during the sessions described herein, the field of social welfare made an important beginning in analyzing social problems, evaluating itself, and exploring new ways to deal with the problems. Much knowledge and understanding were gained, many obstacles in the achievement of goals were identified, and specific suggestions for next steps were made. However, many broad and basic questions which require further exploration and study remain. These include, particularly, the definition of a social problem, specification of the scope of social work in relation to these problems, and determination of the level of prevention which is possible and the best ways to achieve it.

Although many questions were left unresolved there seemed to be almost complete agreement on certain conclusions. There was a clear recognition that:

1. More professionally educated social workers, increased funds for social services, and even heightened priority and commitment by the field could not by and of themselves increase the effectiveness of social work in relation to social problems.
2. Greater emphasis on planning and prevention in addition to concern about management and treatment is needed. Furthermore, there must be massive efforts to find ways to operationalize social change theory so that it can be used by practitioners and transmitted through professional education.
3. Increased coordination and cooperation between public and private agencies and among all agencies are needed.
4. Obstacles within the field which resist or delay changes in focus, structure, and methods in social welfare exist and should be handled.

These conclusions, while important, are not really new or earth-shaking. Then what makes the 1964 discussions of social problems by social welfare different from all previous similar considerations?

The focus and scope of the discussions were broader.

Basic social trends and the cause and consequences of many social problems were explored; considerations included social work and the public in general.

and non-social work services in relation to problems and the relationship of social work to other professions, the power structure,

The emphasis on ongoing study as well as action was greater.

The Conference program was based on extensive study already done by the NASW, and the meeting and workshop discussions explored what next steps are necessary and possible. Throughout there was a dual focus on problems and practice and their present and potential interaction.

There was less "preaching" and more frank discussion and exploration.

There were few exhortations on *what* social workers should do and *why*. Instead there was extensive exploration of *how* to do it. The participants at the Conference were actively involved in seeking answers. There was little defensiveness and a real effort to look at issues with new perspectives.

Pitfalls and Opportunities

For a relatively long time, many have charged, and others have accepted without question, that what ails social welfare is the lack of commitment of social workers to social reform and their limited concern about basic social problems. As Gurin recently pointed out, the major problem has really been a question, not of values, but of technology, "the knowledge and skills the profession has available to deal with social problems."¹⁰ It is true that activity without professional goals can at times be immoral, and certainly it is unprofessional; however, values and goals without the skill and structure necessary for action are ineffective and frustrating. The task ahead is for social workers to obtain competence which matches their concern, and for the field of social welfare to develop structures and services which are appropriate to needs.

¹⁰ Arnold Gurin, "The Role of the Social Worker in Social Planning," in *Social Work and Social Planning* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964), p. 24.

There are potential dangers which must be avoided if at all possible. First, in the search for new strategies of problem-solving it should be recognized that all which is old is not inevitably bad and everything that is new is not necessarily good. In correcting the limitations and inadequacies of social services, structures, and methods the patterns which have proved effective and adequate should not be carelessly abandoned. Second, all previous understandings should not be arbitrarily rejected. New knowledge should be linked with the validated research and tested experience of the past. What will be most useful is the continuous integration of new knowledge rather than the periodic substitution of new concepts for old ones. Third, the greater emphasis on social problems and planning and prevention should not decrease or devalue the continuance of effective and necessary treatment programs. While individual and group treatment services are not a substitute for involvement in public policy formation or programs that attack social problems, the reverse is also true. What will be important and most productive are the interaction and cooperation of personnel who plan and those who implement, and of those who treat individuals and groups with problems and the workers who seek to eradicate and prevent problems by intervening in the social system. Each has a unique and significant contribution to make to a total integrated approach in the achievement of social welfare objectives.

The complex social problems of our day require, not only reaction, but action by many disciplines and professions. The field of social welfare is responding to present needs and to emerging needs. It has moved out of the comfortable patterns of the past into the testing of new ways which are fraught with uncertainties and risks. The rapid changes of our society, and the resultant reevaluation of social welfare, create new problems for the social work profession; they also provide unparalleled opportunities. It is our responsibility to seize the opportunity and increase our competence in dealing with the basic social problems.

Social Planning for Institutional Change

by *LLOYD E. OHLIN and MARTIN REIN*

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING FACTS of our society is the rapidly increasing complexity and interdependence of our institutionalized activities. This trend will undoubtedly continue under the enormous pressures of a rapidly growing population and rising expectations as to standards of living. The joint demands of more people and higher standards can only be met by creating more complex technologies and systems of production.

However, a highly advanced technology cannot be maintained unless we also find better means for training and allocating human capabilities to these industrial pursuits. Thus we must develop ever more complex and sensitive institutions for socialization, allocation of opportunities, and distribution of rewards to all people in our society. We have not yet recognized clearly enough both the need and the difficulty of making these changes in our social institutions. We are still inclined to think that we can patch up our nineteenth-century institutions without undertaking the fundamental reappraisal and comprehensive planning that are actually required. We have become accustomed to long-range planning and routinization of research and development in our industrial enterprises. However, we are still extremely reluctant to introduce a similar rationality into the developmental processes of our social institutions. Yet this we must do. It is perhaps the most challenging problem for our generation.

One can see, for example, the increasing importance of our socialization institutions by contrasting our situation today with the

rural society we are rapidly leaving behind. By "socializing institutions" we mean those organized structures of persons, facilities, and resources which have as their end the preparation of persons to play various types of social and cultural roles. Broadly conceived, such institutions as welfare, education, and the family are culturally defined mechanisms for performing certain functions throughout the society. The specific realization of this function appears in any single community in the form of a school, a family, a church, a social agency, a settlement house, and similar socializing organizations. The social structures required to train, allocate, and motivate persons to contribute effectively to the general cultural growth of a rural society are relatively simple. The family could be entrusted with the major socialization and motivational functions. Training could take place on the job. The problems of matching labor resources to work opportunities were relatively straightforward.

Today, the knowledge and skill demanded for production tasks require a much more intricate training and recruitment process. The rich variety of occupations makes the selection of a career more difficult, while their remoteness from early training demands discourages an adequate motivational commitment among the trainees. This means that intervening systems of rewards must be set up to encourage personal investment in the training process from the beginning days in school.

Modern community structures for socialization are more and more developing into large-scale bureaucratic organizations. Management requirements of rationality and efficiency frequently impose a highly rigid and restrictive uniformity on the socialization programs. They become less sensitive to the special needs of local groups, especially in deprived urban neighborhoods. They resist efforts to change them and develop mechanisms for organizational maintenance and stability which often frustrate achievement of the goals for which they were organized. They strive for autonomy and competitive power with other institutions. They seem to develop a will of their own and grow in ways which no one has planned and no one seems able to control. In this process new social problems are generated. We live in a society in which we are increasingly con-

trolled and, in fact, often victimized by our own institutions. Yet these institutions are essential mechanisms for leading a common and satisfying life in the modern world.

In suburban communities, we still feel capable of participating in decisions about the administration of our schools, development of recreational facilities, provision of family and social services, management of the housing market, utilization of space, and organization of an effective political process. However, the resident of an urban neighborhood is much less likely to have such a sense of competence and control. His local institutions are likely to be managed by decision-makers far removed from the local neighborhood. It is often unclear what channels to employ in order to influence decisions about the organization and operation of these institutions. The bureaucratic pressures for uniformity throughout the system give the city resident the feeling that his local institutions are unrelated to his own special needs or those of his children. Especially if he is a new migrant to the urban area, he is likely to feel helpless and victimized. Consequently, the socialization and motivational needs in our poorest urban neighborhoods are not being properly served.

In our view, this necessity to develop more sensitive and responsive community institutions to service fully the socialization needs of all our citizens, especially in the "pockets of poverty," is one of the most critical problems of our time. It equals in urgency the related necessity to increase significantly the accessibility of satisfying social, cultural, and economic opportunities. Both will require a type of social planning that we have not been willing to permit thus far. It will mean intensive and comprehensive programs of urban community development. Unless our society is willing to make this investment and unless social welfare is prepared to play a constructive and vigorous role in these developments, our vision of the good life for all our citizens is likely to recede ever further in the distance.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

It is perhaps inevitable in a society dominated by the ethics of business and industrial production that the evaluations and standards of achievement which we apply in these enterprises will become

diffused to gauge the accomplishments of our other institutions as well. In a vigorous and, at times, intemperate polemic the great American philosopher Elijah Jordan offers a detailed analysis of the distorting effects of this misappropriation of standards.¹ We are inclined to think of our socialization institutions as systems designed primarily to select out the people best suited to maintain and promote the established social order. We expect them to cultivate those who will meet best the demands of the world of business and technology. The role models required by our enterprises furnish the primary criteria for the assessment of individuals and their performances in training. Persons are seen as having or not having the capacity and the potential competence to succeed by these standards and are routed into less well rewarded careers accordingly.

It is, of course, clear that decisions which steer persons into different types of careers must be made by socialization institutions at key points in the training process and in the final allocation to work opportunities. However, when the system stresses this function above all others and employs as criteria for selection a relatively narrow range of role models, a great deal is lost. Under such conditions the goals of system maintenance are accorded higher status than goals that stress the maximum development of individual potentialities.

A number of serious effects flow from this distortion of the socialization process, but perhaps the most serious is the stifling of large amounts of potential creativity at all socioeconomic levels in the society. There is instead a tendency to produce relatively stereotyped personalities, and to disadvantage most seriously the poorest segments of the society and those who differ most from the prevailing cultural norms. As Jordan has noted so clearly, the good society is one in which access to opportunities and the organization of facilities and resources are so designed as to maximize each individual's chance to grow and achieve his greatest potential for constructive contribution to the cultural life of the social order. This applies, not only to individual persons, but to the creative growth processes of families and other organized groups. Any system of

¹ Elijah Jordan, *Business Be Damned* (New York: Abelard, 1952).

socialization which places this goal subordinate to societal maintenance except in periods of great crisis will create more problems than it will solve. This, it seems to us, is the basic tenet of the social work ideology, and indeed of a truly democratic society.

One task, then, of social workers is constantly to promote the primacy of this goal in planning for institutional change. It should be a central concern of community organization. We should promote opportunities which will provide optimum conditions for the natural growth and development of personal creativity, knowledge, and skill.

Social work seeks to aid individuals who are social failures in economic, familial, and educational situations. From this point of view, the clients of the social worker are the fall-outs and rejects of other institutions of socialization and performance opportunities. Social work is thus in a unique position to know, not only the costs of these institutional failures, but also the points at which a critical lack of relatedness of institution to human need is being experienced in a particular locality. Social work has traditionally acted as spokesman for the afflicted. This function must be sharpened and brought into prominence as part of its professional commitment. Social work agencies are part of a system of socialization in the local community and the larger society. With their rehabilitative services they will continue to help people discover an effective engagement with the established system. At the same time, they must systematize knowledge of the institutionally created problems of their clients. They must then undertake joint planning and redevelopment efforts with other institutional personnel and mobilize resources to create a new set of conditions which will more adequately meet the needs of the disadvantaged. This will necessitate a basic commitment to institutional change. We must call for a far greater investment by the larger society in the socialization process so that individual creativity and capacity for growth will be released rather than suppressed or channeled into destructive activities and careers.

In a recent article Cicourel and Kitsuse clarify an emerging conceptual distinction in the literature between systems that promote certain types of human actions and systems that produce rates as

indices of the relative frequency of these acts.² The frequent tendency to confuse the two has had unfortunate consequences for research and the understanding of social problems.

Many studies have investigated various determinants of human conduct. In the case of delinquency, for example, the sources are traced to personal, familial, peer group, and organizational pressures. These pressures form systems for producing certain behavioral responses with a frequency that will vary from one individual and group to another.

At the same time, there exists an institutionalized system for the production of delinquency rates which reflects a limited quantity of delinquent acts. This system provides the official definitions on which are based the quantification of rates.

All too frequently we have assumed that these two systems operate in the same fashion. Therefore, very often, the official rates for delinquent conduct are taken as indications of the actual distribution of delinquent behavior in the society. Such an assumption can lead to a great deal of misunderstanding and faulty analysis. Rates are produced by the definitional acts of institutions, and these definitions can be altered or withheld in such a way as to manipulate the rates themselves. It is thus possible for the rates to change radically while the incidence of the behavior remains unchanged. This is why it is so risky to use official rates of the incidence of social problems as measures of the effectiveness of social action programs. All that may have changed is the official response to the problem and not the amount of problematic behavior, though a change in official response has important effects in the long run.

The complication is that these official definitions constitute one element in the behavior system of the offending individual or group. The way in which an institution defines a person affects his behavior and, in many instances, may actually determine his career choice. One cannot, for example, become a convict, with all that this implies of pressure to behave in certain ways, unless one is sent to prison.

There are four types of institutional acts which have the effect of creating such personal and social problems.

² John I. Kitsuse and Aaron V. Cicourel, "A Note on the Uses of Official Statistics," *Social Problems*, XI (1963), 131-39.

1. *The process of labeling.*—An institution affects the behavior and career alternatives of individuals most directly through the selection and categorization, or labeling, that accompanies its processing decisions. This may be clearly seen, for example, in the testing of intelligence and the identification of mental deficiency. Almost a quarter of a billion tests to measure ability are administered each year in the United States by a variety of institutions interested in screening, labeling, and sorting individuals. Many who fail on these tests take a first step on the road to becoming potential social problems. These tests, particularly the IQ, are assumed to measure capacity inherent in the individual and unrelated to social definitions. In the case of mental deficiency, labeling dramatically affects life chances. Yet who is labeled as a defective is likely to depend, except in extreme situations, as much on the tolerance of the definer as on the condition of the person being defined.

Barbara Wootton quotes several studies which indicate that a substantial number of persons with normal intelligence are in institutions for the mentally defective.³ The Royal Commission in England has, for example, come to place increasing reliance on social criteria rather than, almost exclusively, on intellectual criteria for the definition of mental deficiency. Wootton summarizes this confusion in thinking:

In the modern usage, a mental defective may be as intelligent as anybody else, and defective only in his social competence. Social competence depends, however, upon the expected levels of competence, and these in turn depend upon such extraneous factors as the state of the employment market; yet at the same time, many defectives, given the chance, prove themselves socially competent.⁴

She observes that the size of the mental deficiency hospital population in any area becomes,

not so much a reflection of the population . . . [as it] depends on the policy and opinions of the administrators . . . for example, "one very rural county . . . sent in feeble-minded girls only if they had illegitimate children."⁵

These observations raise questions regarding the feasibility of

³ Barbara Wootton, *Social Science and Social Pathology* (New York: Macmillan, 1959).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

treating mental deficiency as an independent condition which causes failure at social adaptation. One of the social criteria for assessing deficiency is the ability of a child to use the school. Examining data from New York City, we find wide geographical variations in the distribution of the rate of mental deficiency throughout the city, which in turn is related to variations in income levels. But of special interest are the variations in the rate of institutionalization in different communities with the same income grouping.⁶ These data suggest that the same standards are employed inconsistently and lead to the conclusion that the scope of a social problem, even one like mental defectiveness, which is generally assumed to be a characteristic inherent in the individual, is shaped in important ways by the defining institution.

2. *Access to institutional resources.*—There is growing recognition of the fact that the inability of certain individuals to gain access to success-defining institutions and resources may create serious personal and social problems. Most talked about today is the relationship between poverty, income inequality, and access to educational institutions. More and more in the United States disparities in income are related to educational achievement. The boundary no longer lies between those with a high school diploma and those without, but between those who have completed college and those who have not. Furthermore, intelligence is not the main determinant of the use of educational institutions, since one half of those with IQ's over 120 do not go to college. Moreover, there is a striking relationship between a father's occupation and his children's educational advancement.⁷

It is likely that the decreasing demand for semiskilled and unskilled labor will accelerate the importance of education as a ladder for success, yet the instruments to measure intelligence and achievement lead to discrimination against those who are presently disadvantaged. There seems to be more awareness of this fact. For example, Hillel Black in his new book *They Shall Not Pass* goes so

⁶ Gerhart Saenger, *Factors Influencing the Institutionalization of Mentally Retarded Individuals in New York City* (New York: Research Center, Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Science, New York University, 1961).

⁷ Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility and Industrial Society* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959).

far as to urge a United States Supreme Court test of the constitutionality of determining the educational future of children of underprivileged backgrounds through the use of intelligence and aptitude tests.⁸

To take another illustration, the access to resources seems to be an important variable in cases of illegitimate births. Recent studies show that only one in 100 white, middle-class girls who have premarital sexual relations will have an illegitimate child, as compared with 17 in 100 Negro lower-class girls. Apparently, access to contraceptive devices and abortion help account for these differential rates of illegitimacy.⁹

3. *Distribution of rewards and promotions.*—All socializing institutions maintain rules and criteria for the distribution of rewards and promotions depending upon performance. Usually, however, the formal criteria are strongly affected by a variety of informal and often quite subtle criteria. Sometimes the implementation of these informal criteria is not fully recognized by any of the participants although it decisively determines the achievement output. Martin Deutsch, for example, in his studies of first grade children in New York, discovered that teachers were unwittingly rewarding children from middle-class households who displayed the proper attitudes of attention and verbal facility.¹⁰ Smiles of encouragement and appropriate questions were very rarely directed toward children from lower-class backgrounds who had more difficulty responding. The net results were apathy and disinterest among the lower-class children and a remarkable discrepancy in the achievement levels by the end of the first grade. Teachers were surprised and somewhat shocked to find that they had been discriminating in this way. After a period of training in recognizing and rewarding positive elements in the cultural styles of low-income groups a satisfactory level of participation among the lower-class children was maintained, and no significant difference in achievement between middle-class and lower-class children was observable at the termination of the school year.

⁸ Quoted in the *New York Times*, November 17, 1963.

⁹ Howard R. Stanton, unpublished manuscript on illegitimacy.

¹⁰ Martin Deutsch, in private communication to the authors.

4. *Postinstitutional linkage with opportunity.*—Socialization institutions differ markedly in the degree to which their system of training is related to postinstitutional opportunities for the client group. Vocational education, for example, is coming under severe attack because of an apparent failure to link its training with opportunities for work placement. Such tendencies toward institutional autonomy and resistance to linkage with other components of the socialization and opportunity system constitute one of the gravest deficiencies in our current community programs. This can be seen most dramatically in the case of correctional institutions. The effectiveness of the treatment systems within the institutions are markedly reduced because of the inability of the system to procure successful reentry of offenders into a network of learning and performance opportunities which would support a law-abiding rather than a criminal life.

LEVELS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Changes in the pattern of organization and operation of socialization institutions may be initiated at neighborhood, metropolitan, state, regional, or national levels. Each of these permits a different type of intervention and a different impact, depending upon the nature of the particular problem.

The local community provides for institutional change at the point of client contact. It is here that social work can best make a case for change. It is at the point of client contact that programmatic innovations pay off, and it is at this point that the discrepancy between the manifest goals and actual achievement is most clearly revealed. Because of the trends toward centralization, however, direct action for institutional change at the local level is becoming less and less ineffective. There is now greater recognition that such efforts must be backed up by strong pressures at metropolitan centers of power and decision-making, and at the national policy level, in order to achieve enduring changes.

There are a number of ways in which socializing institutions can be changed to perform more effectively. Perhaps the most important of these, however, are those changes which will enhance the commitment to foster potential for growth and development in

the client population. This may require considerable modification in organizational structure, or in the personnel, the specific roles they perform, and their relationship to each other and to those they serve. It may mean using different criteria for admission, release, and allocation decisions which control the flow of individuals into training or performance opportunities appropriate to their stage of development. It may mean changing the rules and regulations employed to reward achievement and punish nonconformity. It may mean modifying methods of procedure and the process that determines what and how individuals are taught.

In most cases, there is likely to be a prevailing need for better coordination of various socializing agencies into an effective community system. This coordination must not only handle the problem of accountability which Alfred Kahn has explored in some depth,¹¹ but must work toward a more effective interpenetration of resources and opportunities for socialization so that the growth needs of individuals are properly met. It is in the documentation of this need for a systematic perception of institutional responsibility to relate effectively to the client population that the community organization worker may hope to achieve the greatest impact at the local level.

STRATEGIES OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

There can be as many strategies for change as there are ways in which institutions change. As yet our knowledge about the processes of institutional change does not enable us to design planned change efforts with as much confidence concerning the outcome as we are able to do in working with individual and family problems.

The use of Federal and foundation funds to encourage a planned process of community redevelopment has forced us to clarify further our understanding of change processes. It is still too early to assess their ultimate impact or to determine what new dimensions have been added to our strategies for achieving institutional change. However, certain assumptions implicit in these strategies are becoming apparent.

¹¹ Alfred J. Kahn, *Planning Community Services For Children in Trouble* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

There is the assumption that agencies want their share of scarce funds and will undertake changes in order to get support for new operations. There is also a strategy of confrontation involved. It is assumed that agencies are not homogeneous organizations but that many elements within these agencies desire freedom to introduce changes. The challenge to undertake broad planning permits many agencies to rise above past conflicts and to engage in the development of new arrangements.

In these projects there is also the assumption that education of the elite will take place; that persons in centers of power will be encouraged to learn about problems at firsthand. The stress on fact-gathering implements the belief that knowledge will become converted into action, though the process by which this will take place is never clearly specified.

A companion assumption is that external pressure on institutions by those who need services is an essential force for enduring change. It is expected that such changes will be achieved as the result of institutional adaptation to collective sanctions to enforce a greater sharing of power to make decisions about local services. A secondary objective is the gradual development of self-confidence and political competence among resident groups to employ sanctions and to use appropriate channels in articulating and representing their own interests.

There is also the assumption that a demonstration program provides maximum freedom for experimentation with new models of institutional cooperation and organization since change is limited to a portion of the entire system. This should permit gradual reorganization and adaptation to occur throughout the remainder of the organization. It is assumed that a successful demonstration will result in greater acceptance and implementation of the new procedures.

Experience has demonstrated that these assumptions represent a pyramiding of strategies for institutional change which offer useful points for mobilizing wide participation in planning and change on a crash-program basis. However, there is the risk that certain strategies may be in conflict and thereby endanger the achievement of the broad goals of the project. This possibility is becoming increasingly evident in the attempt to work simultaneously with

internal pressures for change in institutions and external mobilization of critics of these institutions.

This illustrates the way in which planning, action, replanning, and further action are a continuous interactive process in which knowledge of how to plan and act successfully in these complex endeavors is progressively sharpened. In our reassessments we must exercise special caution that our original aims are not lost. For example, in evaluating the feasibility of simultaneously stimulating external and internal pressure for change, it is crucial to find new mechanisms for promoting them successfully rather than abandoning one for the other. In general, community organization has relied primarily on elite pressures for internal change in institutional programs and authority despite the fact that the prevailing ideology stresses mobilization and involvement of the dispossessed. This seems to be a case where the dominant ideology and realities of institutional power run at cross purposes. It may not be possible to alleviate such a strain in the same project, but we will learn much by trying.

One of the obvious pitfalls in these planning efforts lies in the possibility that the extensive new activity will produce an illusion of change without substantial modification in the operation of the existing institutions. There is little doubt that much will be learned about the capacity of established institutions to resist innovations. Nevertheless, organizations do change their functions, styles, and patterns of operation. Usually, basic changes have either involved a major crisis or have followed as an adaptive response to basic social, economic, demographic, or technological changes in the society. We may begin to learn from these new planning efforts precisely under what conditions one can hope for major change. For example, the civil rights movements today are challenging our socializing institutions. This undoubtedly contributes in considerable measure to our disposition to undertake broader social planning responsibilities toward these institutions than we have been willing to do in the past.

Thus far we have been concerned primarily with strategies of institutional change which focus on the operation of local socializing organizations within the "pockets of poverty." These strategies have been criticized because they offer at best only a partial and

temporary solution. It takes an enormous amount of facilities, funds, ideas, and personnel to make basic changes in a depressed urban neighborhood. Furthermore, these changes are likely not to be permanent unless supportive measures are taken at the metropolitan, state, and national levels.

Thus, an important alternative or supplementary approach is to experiment with major structural changes at the national level. The assumption is that a significant change in the national structure of an important socializing institution will produce a new pattern of opportunities to which other organizations throughout the society will adjust their positions. Strategies of this sort involve national policy and massive intervention to implement that policy. Before such a major structural change is likely to take place, there must be agreement on a national policy that would remedy the situation. The Employment Act of 1946 and the Social Security Act of the 1930s illustrate this approach. The issue is political and must be debated on the national scene. At the present time there are various contending themes for such a national policy: a massive reduction in dependency; institutionalization of population control measures; elimination of inequalities of opportunity in education and employment; a war against poverty. Perhaps the relative merits of these themes will be clarified as we begin to examine more carefully those social and economic trends which are creating new needs and making old institutions obsolete.

Consider the effect of a national policy which would provide a guaranteed college education for all, with adequate financial support. Such a device might help reduce the growth of inequality and permit a broader participation in prosperity. There is, of course, partial precedent for this in the education provided to veterans after the Second World War. Some evidence suggests that this policy brought about a new level of socioeconomic participation in higher education. It seems likely that that same potential for higher achievement still exists. In not providing for it we are undoubtedly crippling our potential achievements as a nation as well as denying many citizens full participation in our common wealth. The policy might provide access to such education on the basis of common citizenship rather than as compensation for military service.

Another proposed innovation is the abolishment of public assistance and substitution of a "negative income tax" which would assure a minimum level of living for all persons as an extension of the concept of a minimum wage. Then there is the more recent proposal of a guaranteed annual income.

In the climate of our times such proposals may be too advanced. The need for change may not have acquired sufficient momentum to induce such major alterations. They serve, however, as illustrations of a different type of strategy which we may not have adequately explored in our efforts to open up opportunities for the most deprived within the society.

The profession of social work must undertake community organization and planning at these various levels of intervention with renewed vigor. We must find ways of overcoming the weakness of our current position. We find ourselves constricted frequently by the conservative sponsorship of social agencies so that we become engaged as much in control as in rehabilitation. We have remained aloof from the arenas of political and social action where we might play a more constructive role in the reform of traditional institutions. It is also undoubtedly true that our power in relation to other institutions is weak, as are our efforts to induce changes within them. Furthermore, we have often become more heavily preoccupied with our methods than with the problems that we seek to alleviate.

We are convinced that social work can make a major contribution through the development of knowledge and skill to effect institutional changes. Its strength is its knowledge of the special problems of those who have failed to secure adequate attention to their developmental needs. We can use this ever-present tension between the public image and the reality to promote a climate of institutional cooperation committed to changing institutional programs and operations to meet these needs. It is imperative that we do this at the national as well as the local level. Social work's position as spokesman for the deprived and the dispossessed has been legitimated by a long-established tradition. We need not, therefore, be apologetic about the needs we see, nor hesitant in our demands that society invest whatever is required to eliminate them.

Planned Community Change

by THOMAS D. SHERRARD

THE PRINCIPAL IRONY of our time is that although this nation has achieved an unprecedented standard of living, it has been unable to mount organized attacks on some of its major social problems. It is heartening, however, that our recent Washington Administrations appear determined to act as the conscience of America. The war on poverty is becoming a reality.

The translation of political oversimplifications into positive social programs, however, is not easy. The helping professions have a hard road ahead. Fortunately, recent advances in the social sciences have suggested new ways of attacking problems. The attack can be successful if we accept these scientific advances and tie them securely to our traditional professional value system.

Required are not only economic solutions to the problem of poverty, but social solutions to the human problems that accompany poverty and complicate attempts to eradicate it from our society. Policy-makers are looking to social work and related professions for help in that task. It is clearly being requested that social work move beyond the residual function it has assumed in society and accept the institutional function suggested for it by Wilensky and Lebeaux some years ago.¹

Positive professional responses to such demands for massive attacks on social problems and preventive efforts make immediate heavy claims on social policy, administration, and community organization. Some of us who have been pleading for a more central role in the profession now have to face up to our own inadequacies and unpreparedness. The plea goes up for more research. Social

¹ Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), p. 138.

planning, community organization, and administration have a new-found importance.

It may be helpful in charting new directions to consider how we arrived at our present state of unpreparedness—particularly since some of the same concepts, attitudes, and prejudices that brought us to this point are still extant in our profession and in society at large.

Recent sociological analysis of some of the fundamental human problems of our society suggests that a broad frontal attack is in order. Policy-makers now look to social planners and community organization practice for assistance in engineering social changes. Failures and inadequacies have immediately appeared at the practice level, in education for practice, and can, I think, be traced back to weakness and underdevelopment in basic theory concerned with change processes and methods.

Social work started out with a heavy social reform orientation. The vision of large-scale social changes spurred on those pioneers, but somewhere along the line the vision became blurred. Certainly by the 1940s practice theory concerned with planned social change became thoroughly bogged down. Today popular practice theory based on those earlier formulations does not even explain much of what actually goes on in practice, much less is it prepared to meet the new demands.

A theoretical ambivalence of historical origin still troubles us. The Charity Organization Societies, though planning-oriented, firmly believed that by adequate coordination of individualized services and services directed at families, the desired social changes could be brought about. On the other hand, the settlement movement, though also social-reform and social-action-oriented, focused on the neighborhood and believed that through gaining intimate knowledge of slum conditions, through shared living, a kind of magical, self-help process would be started that would spiral into wider social changes. Similar theoretical dichotomies exist in the profession today. While not wholly rejecting either premise, it is perhaps time that we applied some new dimensions to our problems.

There are several reasons for the primitive development of social work practice theory to promote the engineering of social change.

A few are:

1. Any traditional emphasis on voluntary social welfare as opposed to governmental assumption of responsibility has tended to produce a similar emphasis in practice theory on the coordination, the promotion, and, in a very limited sense, the management of the vast extragovernmental welter of agencies and bureaucracies. The processes involved in the manipulation of these forces has thus received our major attention rather than the larger concepts of social engineering using governmental authority as a major tool.

2. There is a lingering suspicion of anything called "planning" and an additional reluctance to countenance it when the word "social" is added. This conservatism permitted professional change efforts aimed at microsystems but shied away from "social engineering" and "social planning," which imply broader and more threatening tactics.

3. The social work profession, submitting to these strictures, very largely worked with individuals, families, and small groups, leaving the problems of societal change to the natural forces of industrialization and urbanization, which have brought us to our present state. Even the planners and the community organization theorists adjusted to the dominant climate of the profession and deemphasized social reform as a professional objective. Kenneth Pray and Wilber Newstetter set the tone in 1947, emphasizing the process and relationship aspects of practice and denying the legitimacy of environmental manipulation as inappropriate to social work's goals and values.² This approach reached its ultimate, perhaps, in the work of Murray Ross and Ronald Lippitt.³

It is apparently time for theoreticians to look in other directions. Theory such as that developed by Lippitt which tries to encompass all aspects of a profession as diffuse and eclectic as social work ends up at such a high level of generalization that it becomes of no practical use to any of its fields of practice.

² Wilber I. Newstetter, "The Social Intergroup Work Process," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 205-17, and Kenneth L. M. Pray, "When Is Community Organization Social Work Practice?" *ibid.*, pp. 194-204.

³ Murray Ross, *Community Organization Theory and Principles* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955); Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1958).

4. We thus find ourselves being urged to return to the social sciences for further guidance. Unfortunately, the emphasis in the social sciences, particularly in sociology, has been on explanations of social phenomena rather than upon intervention procedures. This tends to make our search both difficult and, often, unrewarding. The task then becomes one of adapting social science theory and findings to the needs of a practicing profession. This process might be described as translating largely static scientific explanation into middle range theory primarily concerned with social dynamics. Fortunately, though the responsibility is primarily ours, we are getting, belatedly, the enthusiastic support of concerned and interested social scientists who have joined forces with social work faculty during recent years at Michigan, Brandeis, Columbia, Chicago, and elsewhere.

Also, fortunately, there are a number of other forces moving us in new directions. The explosive growth of social welfare under governmental auspices demands a planning as opposed to a "process" approach. As Scott Greer has pointed out, drastic changes in societal scale have produced qualitative as well as quantitative changes which demand planning to deal with them effectively.⁴ The increasing necessity for interdisciplinary research and inter-professional practice forces us to take stock of our own methods and to find ways of meshing ours with other efforts.

Fortunately, too, a positive professional response has been forthcoming, typified by the work of the task force headed by Nathan Cohen.⁵ A process has begun which is destined to continue as an assessment of the contribution and potential of social work measured against, and analyzed in relation to, the major social problems confronting American society. Another hopeful sign is the more recent initiation of the Council on Social Work Education's Community Organization Curriculum Development Project. This project also, if I understand correctly, has begun with a social-problem focus and has first looked to sociological formulations for guidance.

There are many ways of attacking the study of planned commu-

⁴ Scott Greer, *The Emerging City: Myth and Reality* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

⁵ See Nathan E. Cohen, ed., *Social Work and Social Problems* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 1964).

nity change just as there are many branches of our profession, as well as related professions, concerned with it. I shall limit myself to what I call "social planning," and to community organization practice as one method of instigating, promoting, and guiding it.

Considerable confusion has existed in terminology in this field. For present purposes, and I commend it for future use, "community organization" is defined solely as a method of social work practice. The term will not be used to identify the tasks to be done in the community or in society as a whole, nor the process by which communities sometimes solve their problems. Nor will it be used to identify organizations that have planning, coordinating, and action responsibilities in the community. Nor will I attempt to define the community organization method further at this point. This has been done at some considerable length.⁶ The results of current research will help in refining or redefining the method in the future.

Planning is increasingly being viewed as much more than the production of a blueprint by an expert. It is seen as including problem identification, priority determinations, citizen participation, the presentation of alternatives, coordination of efforts, strategies for effectuation, and so on. Therefore, I shall use the term "social planning" to identify the total task to be carried out in the community and society, leaving us free to employ "community organization" in the special sense as "method of practice"—a method, however, which refers, not merely to coordination or to citizen involvement, or local neighborhood development, or city-wide planning, but rather to the total method employed by the social worker in the task of social planning broadly defined.

Studies in community organization should be guided by the needs of practice. If these are kept firmly in mind we will avoid getting into byways and areas which properly belong in the academic disciplines, or in the study of administration and social policy formation. Such research, firmly geared to practice needs, will soon build up a body of suitable material for the construction and restructuring of educational programs to prepare for practice. As already

⁶ National Association of Social Workers, *Defining Community Organization Practice* (New York: the Association, 1962).

noted, the demands being placed upon practice are related to long overdue basic changes in society related to the prevention of delinquency, the abolition of poverty, the eradication of slums, the overhauling of some of our major institutions, and the upgrading of the education and skills of large segments of our population.

Implied here is the creation of social planning mechanisms, preferably at the metropolitan, regional level, coordinated with national planning mechanisms. These planning units will be expected to produce substantial systemic changes and basic restructuring where necessary. Closely allied is the need for concentrated work in deprived urban areas with broad community development as a goal. A third clear need is for the better ordering of interorganizational relationships designed to produce the concerted efforts required to solve these problems.

Gone are the days when we can refer to social planning, or even social welfare planning, in such limited terms as "avoiding duplication of service," "eliminating gaps in service," "raising standards," and so on. Obviously, within this mandate fall many tasks which cry out for differentiation. Clearly, social work as a profession has no monopoly in the fields of planning and action. On these broad battlegrounds social workers will confront city planners, economists, educators, politicians, and a host of others. Whether such confrontation results in conflict or in teamwork depends in part upon our skills and methodology in community organization. Similarly, the role that social work is finally assigned will depend in large part on the development of relevant professional competencies. Community organization as a method is in a crucial and critical position.

Keeping this focus firmly in mind it follows that the needs of the field demand:

1. A careful analysis of the manifold and different tasks required in social planning
2. A diagnostic rather than a predetermined approach to the community and its problems
3. A differential rather than a dogmatic approach to practice.

In order to move toward these objectives, research in community organization must be guided by certain broad perspectives. The designation of such analytic perspectives then becomes the first step

toward theory building, and a basis for study of method. Some of these perspectives might be: analysis of social problems; analysis of community structure; and organizational analysis. This is only a partial list and has purposely been kept at the highest possible level of generalization. Other concepts might have been included, such as analysis of target group or organizational clientele, as opposed to constituency, or analysis of professional characteristics and attributes, both of which would be relevant to the kind of study required.

A whole series of analytic variables is contained in each of these perspectives which can be used to enlighten the study process and guide research strategies. For example, sociological analysis provides a set of analytic variables for the purpose of community analysis, such as elite cohesion or conflict, closed classes or open classes, community integration or disorganization, community interdependence or independence, and so on. Other "harder" measures, such as size and socioeconomic status, might also be applicable. Similar variables are available, or can be developed for the other concepts. All can be, and many are, in fact, used to define or assess the difficulty of the task that faces the community organization worker and as a means for determining strategies for goal implementation.

These and similar concepts can then be developed into instruments for analysis of practice processes, methods, and procedures, and can assist in making comparative analyses. Certain procedures stem from assumptions held by entire agencies in their basic policies and by certain practitioners individually such as:

1. Underlying orientations toward, and understanding about, the nature of community social problems
2. Understanding of community structure and dynamics.

In turn the nature of these conceptions tends to predict:

1. Policy formulation processes
2. Methods of implementing policy decisions through the management of community relations, interagency relations, and intra-agency policies and operations
3. Typical and distinctive techniques and enabling processes, such as the use of conflict, or attempts at integration through

conciliation, the use of fact-finding, mass persuasion, leadership cultivation, small group processes, funding, financing, and allocating, and so on.

It should be stressed that research in respect to these analytic perspectives and in the operation of these variables should not be focused on them as objects of study in and for themselves. If the goal is relevance for a practicing profession, attention should be centered on relationship between them. If study is centered on interaction between concepts of community, social problems and organization, light will be shed on problems such as: the role of the practitioner as change agent; the structuring of organizations concerned with change; the strategies for achieving change and the "content" of change-oriented social planning programs.

Table 1 illustrates the results of such intersection between community analysis and social problem analysis. Only one gross variable, socioeconomic status, has been used to differentiate communities. In the analysis of social problems, emphasis has been placed on the location of the problem whether it is seen as arising out of the individual or as systemic dysfunctioning. The location of social problems is a matter of controversy and considerable research. Many of the newer programs that attempt to come to grips with social problems or are concerned with prevention rather than repair tend to locate the problem in the malfunctioning of the community social system.

In the cells we have placed both the difficulties encountered and the remedies commonly advanced under the banner of community organization practice.

It is fairly apparent that we have in the armament of community organization some fairly adequate methodological tools designed to attack and to deal with difficulties encountered in communities of a high socioeconomic level (cells 1 and 3). It is not so clear that we have an equally effective array of methods and techniques (cells 2 and 4) to cope with the added difficulties in lower socioeconomic areas. We have had many years of experience and some success in dealing with problems when change in the individual or family is needed (cell 2). We are obviously at our weakest when facing the need for basic changes in the societal system in lower class com-

TABLE I
LOCATION OF THE PROBLEM
IN THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE SYSTEM

The Community

	1		3
	<i>Difficulties</i>	<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Difficulties</i>
High socioeconomic status	Lack of expertise Lack of specific resources Failure to formulate the problem Breakdown in communication	Consultation Expert advice Manipulation of existing relationship Management of communication mechanisms	Ultraconservatism Institutional inertia Limited participation
			<i>Strategies</i> Planning Using elites Involving elites Broadening or controlling elites Mediating between factions Focusing elite power Putting existing problem formulations into operation
			4
			<i>Difficulties</i>
Low socioeconomic status	Lack of resources Bureaucratic difference Lack of interagency coordination Dropouts from agency system Hard-to-reach clients and agencies	<i>Strategies</i> Consultation Expert advice Building mechanisms for utilization of agency systems and services Coordinating councils, case conferences, etc. Demonstrations and Experiments involving multipurpose agencies, Reward systems, etc. Application of power	<i>Strategies</i> Development of Leadership Organization of the total system Use of multipurpose or holistic organization Development of communication systems Adult education Community development Creation of conflict and tension

munities. Numerous efforts to apply the same time-tested techniques in such situations have been notably less than successful. Obviously, some differential approaches are in order.

Even when we locate the origin of the problem in the most primary social systems, the individual and the family, and look for solution primarily in individual and family change, we are not much encouraged. An appraisal of the traditional role of community organization in our large cities does not record great successes.

On the contrary, we see private social welfare's disengagement from the poor and their problems.⁷ We also witness the public agencies increasingly resorting to "night raids" and other authoritarian measures instead of social work practice. We see, not an elimination of gaps in service, but widening gaps through which the major social problems of the community fall—the school dropout, the delinquent, the unmarried mother, the mentally ill, the deviant, the rejected, and the alienated. Instead of better inter-agency communication and improved coordination we encounter creeping bureaucracy, professional isolation, systemic encapsulation, which apparently defy heroic efforts of local and city-wide planning groups to counteract. The occasional demonstration projects make inroads, but when funds are withdrawn everything goes back to normal.

The prospects for effecting systemic change in these communities are even more dismal. Evidence of grass roots organizations using community organization techniques effectively in deprived urban areas is extremely hard to come by. Lloyd Ohlin points out the difficulty involved in sponsoring and organizing indigenous social movements in such areas.⁸

The anomalous situations and the contradictions that appear when seemingly inevitable conflict between the sponsoring group and the awakening organization and its militant members occurs, raise many questions as to the feasibility of these approaches. There are numerous examples of welfare councils hastily ridding them-

⁷ Richard A. Cloward and Irwin Epstein, *Private Social Welfare's Disengagement from the Poor: the Case of Family Adjustment Agencies* (publication pending).

⁸ Lloyd E. Ohlin, "Urban Community Development," Conference on Socially Handicapped Families, under the auspices of the French Commission for UNESCO, Paris, 1964.

selves of embarrassments accruing from organizational efforts which achieve even limited success at the grass roots level. Evidence is also accumulating that even in the broader coalitions of public and private interests, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the President's Committee in their demonstrations in urban community development, this sort of embarrassing "backlash" is creating problems. It may be that public officials are even less ready to accept such ungracious and ungrateful behavior on the part of the newly organized than have been the voluntary supporters of welfare councils and settlements. It has yet to be found that the deliberate creation of such conflict situations produces very satisfactory results in terms of basic changes in the system short of setting off radical changes in the power structure and basic restructuring of the *status quo*.

Even if these fundamental problems can be solved, there still remains the extremely difficult one of combating the apathy, the despair and hopelessness, that characterizes the social climate of these areas. Nor is this just a psychological or social-psychological barrier to be surmounted through the mobilization of internal resources. There is the very real problem that even if action is taken at the neighborhood level, permission must be granted by the larger system which contains it. Similar changes must be matched at the city-wide and metropolitan level (even at the national level) if anything real or lasting is to be accomplished. Such permission is not readily forthcoming: in fact, encouragement is generally withheld.

This leads to the next point. It should not be inferred from the previous argument that our research should be wholly diverted from studying community organization practice in communities of high socioeconomic level, or with groups whose members represent high socioeconomic segments, or who as leaders have themselves achieved this status. On the contrary, there are good reasons why these efforts, successful or unsuccessful, should not be ignored, even though our major difficulties and major challenges lie elsewhere.

In this connection, it should be noted that in cells 1 and 3 referring to the upper socioeconomic group, I am not necessarily referring to the entire population of the geographic community. It may be a functional community, such as the religious community, the social welfare community, or the upper segment of a diversified

community. In the lower cells we are concerned with homogeneous lower class communities typified by a large housing project.

(In the end, we might conclude that community organization is not a suitable method to use in such communities. This would be analogous to saying that psychotherapy, psychiatry, and social case-work are too good for the lower classes. Or we might conclude that we cannot afford to have such homogeneous lower class communities. We might then rely on some form of environmental determinism and insist that our city planners create heterogeneous communities. However, we have been decrying the existence of slums for a hundred years in pious phrases, and they still proliferate. There is good evidence in Chicago, at least, that increasing numbers of middle-class whites, and Negroes also, will tolerate, even welcome, racially integrated neighborhood living, but will resist with their last breath integration across socioeconomic lines.⁹)

There is reason to suppose, and some evidence to support it, that many of the techniques employed in working with communities of higher socioeconomic status can be adapted for use in these more difficult situations. A description of time-tested methods can be found in the standard texts on community organization. A more up-to-date check list of methods and techniques, with very brief explanations can be found in *Defining Community Organization Practice*. It is important, however, that we test these more experimentally than we have been willing or able to do. It is even more important that in adapting, translating, and altering this methodology, up-to-date findings of the social sciences, such as social psychological studies of the lower class, anthropological studies of the culture of poverty, political studies of the inner city, and sociological studies of administrative and organizational behavior, be taken fully into account.

There is another and perhaps overriding reason for continuing our studies in this area. Even if we were to agree that these time-tested methods and techniques were inapplicable in low-class communities, we must return to the fact that to be substantially effective community development programs must be an integral part of

*A recent study by Donald Bogue and Jan E. Dizard bears out this conclusion (*New York Times*, May 25, 1964, p. 25).

larger and more broadly based planning and developmental programs. Ideally, these should be organized at the national level, but also at the metropolitan, regional, or city-wide level. I am inclined to stress the metropolitan base, since it is becoming more and more clear that the metropolitan region has become the major form of settlement in the United States. We must, I think, finally reach the conclusion that effective change cannot be brought about without the involvement and commitment of the community's elite structure, that it cannot be achieved solely by organization of the dispossessed and deprived. Even if undertaken neighborhood by neighborhood, as our cities become more homogenous, more lower class and more ghettoized, the achievement of the needed socioeconomic mixing requires the metropolitan organizational base.

Take, for example, solutions to problems that require reorganization of the educational system or the opening up of employment opportunities. It is apparent that the community power structure must finally be involved, whether it be as a result of capitulation to coercive demands or whether as a result of more conciliatory methods. In either case, the metropolitan area must be the minimum planning base.

In this admittedly incomplete analysis, several areas for fruitful research are suggested:

1. There should be investigations of existing practice. It is our suspicion that much more goes on in practice than meets the eye, or appears in the standard text and the accepted dogma. It is our further hypothesis that such practice approaches are largely determined by variables which can be discovered through a process of inductive reasoning and which can be empirically tested. As already suggested, some of these variables are available in social science research if we have the wit and ingenuity to turn them to our use. Some of our most firmly held myths and clichés may be upset in this process.

2. There should be studies of interorganizational relationships and exchanges, particularly where problems of agency coordination are involved. Studies of organizational behavior, both internal operations and external responses, may prove useful. Studies of this kind might lead to a better understanding of the barriers to agency

coordination and the difficulties encountered in interagency cooperation. Such understanding might lead to more effective action rather than the hortatory slogans and pejorative clichés which generally substitute for genuine accomplishment in this area.

3. As already suggested, study and analysis of microcommunity organization at the neighborhood level conducted in different types of communities would lead to some useful hypotheses as to appropriate methodologies and techniques to be applied under differing circumstances.

4. Study and analysis of large-scale social planning organizations should, perhaps, be both historical and topical in order to take full advantage of the more than a half century of experience in social planning under voluntary auspices and the very considerable upsurge of experimentation with new structures under foundation and governmental support.

This last area for study is particularly complex, and difficult. Not only must he be concerned with organizational structures, organizational and planning methodologies, but the researcher must be familiar with modern demographic and ecological studies, problems of metropolitan politics and intergovernmental relations, economic developments, city planning, and the large body of knowledge, research, and speculation which has been called "urbanism." Ideally, this should be a project for a closely integrated research team. Meantime, careful studies of certain aspects of metropolitan planning can be rewarding.

Of special significance is what one might call the "content" of social planning and the goals and the means employed as distinct from professional methods and strategies.¹⁰ The careful recording of the experiences of the President's Committee in planning and organizing demonstration programs across the nation will be of inestimable value, especially if these records are kept in a suitable form

¹⁰ Particularly useful in this connection might be Thomas D. Sherrard, ed., *Social Progress through Social Planning—the Role of Social Work*, the report of the U.S. Committee to the 12th International Conference of Social Work (New York: the Committee, 1964), especially chapters VI and VII (condensations of papers by the writer and by Harvey Perloff), which suggest ways and means of moving ahead to assume new and broader responsibilities in an increasingly complex society. I particularly recommend the last chapter by Perloff.

and use a conceptual language which will render comparison and contrast possible. It is my impression that while each experience has been no doubt unique in many respects, certain problems, such as struggles over governmental versus voluntary control of power and funds, difficulties in penetration of the educational system, the local neighborhood versus city hall, have been replicated again and again. How these struggles were played out, what may have predicted eventual resolution or failure to resolve, will make invaluable research data.

Although certainly incomplete, the foregoing array of research needs and potentials presents a formidable agenda.

We are attempting to attack some of these problems in Chicago. Two or three subprojects are being undertaken under the Community Organization Curriculum Development Project at the school of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, which has been operating under a grant from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency during the past eleven months. This is not a formal research project in the strict sense of the word, since our aim is to produce a set of community organization curriculum material. Nevertheless, we discovered early that we needed to assume a research stance in order to sort out our concepts and to develop a meaningful body of theory.

Our procedures, very roughly, were first to construct from a review of popular community organization literature and from our previous impressions several simple practice models which we could then test against observations of actual practice to see if the practitioner went "by the book." Naturally, we found many anomalies, contradictions, and discrepancies.

We also used methods of participant observation and interviews to gather data. We were later fortunate enough to gain the assistance of the Community Organization Committee of the Chicago Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, which established an expert panel under the chairmanship of Sam Weingarten. This group of fifteen expert practitioners drawn from widely different fields, but all concerned with community organization and planning, have engaged in monthly discussions of practice problems, or what might be called "simulated practice." These discussions are taped and then carefully analyzed.

The empirical data thus produced appears in Table 2. As can be seen, we have not yet attempted to designate the three types of practice which have been identified. Our data assure us, however, that these ideal types do exist commonly in community organization practice in social work, at least in Chicago. It should be noted that these are not completely discrete types or models of practice, but are perhaps points on a continuum.

There are other identifiable types of practice not commonly found in social work. An additional one to the left might be called "Type — I." Such a model might be derived from militant organizations in the civil rights movement, or in other organizations we have observed in Chicago. Here the values are frankly "revolutionary"; the purpose is to alter the *status quo* at all costs and to create new

TABLE 2
CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
PRACTICE IN LOWER CLASS COMMUNITIES

<i>Professional Attribute</i>	<i>Type I</i>	<i>Type II</i>	<i>Type III</i>
Value	Self-realization of individuals Hostility to bureaucracy	Social control; social responsibility Bureaucracy tolerated	Social betterment through upward mobility Compatible with bureaucracy
Purpose	Promote growth of individual and group interaction	Implement goals determined through interaction of agency and client group	Help client group accept middle-class values and achieve middle-class status
Sanction	The profession interpreted by worker	Agency and profession	Agency
Knowledge	Social-psychological group dynamics; small group processes	Sociological, community structure and function; organizational theory; social problems	Social welfare policies and services; individual and family problems
Method	Process; group action Conflict encouraged	Planning; community problem-solving Conflict permitted	Agency coordination; individual and family problem-solving Conflict discouraged

power centers; the sanction is wholly derived from the organization, as in a social movement or revolutionary party, knowledge derives from political experience, labor union experience, social movements, and so on; methods used are the deliberate creation of conflict situations, the use of scapegoats, and frank manipulation of power forces. The creation of conflict, of course, is the major factor involved, and there is often a confrontation, if not an outright war, of bureaucracies and even of city hall itself.

A "Type IV," at the other end of the scale, apparently does not exist in social work, nor have we observed anything of this kind in action. Models might well be found, however, in such places as the White Citizens' Councils or John-Birch-type societies, where values are purely authoritarian; the purpose is to maintain the *status quo* at all costs; sanction is granted only by the most conservative segments of the community; the knowledge base is tantamount to prejudice; and methods employed are repression and suppression of conflict. This last differs from the other types in that it is not change-oriented, unless one were willing to concede that resistance to the natural processes of change is itself intervention to effect change.

The question immediately arises: Why are there these great differences in practice roles? These conjectures do not appear in the table, but apparently several variables are operating here: (1) community structure; (2) social problem; (3) organizational setting (for practice); and (4) professional training and personal predilection.

Which of these is the most powerful in various situations remains a matter for conjecture. Apparently, the nature of the agency or organizational setting markedly affects practice, in social work at least. Noticeable differences can also be found between workers who began their careers in social casework and those who came from social group work. Gross differences in practice roles can be accounted for by differences in communities and in the social problems being faced or dealt with. The size and complexity of the system, or systems engaged seems also to affect practice roles.

Much more work needs to be done before we can move from conjecture to assertion. Nevertheless, our original suspicions have

certainly been confirmed: there are many different ways to approach practice problems, which are determined by a variety of factors in any given situation. Further conjecture leads to the suspicion that in many situations a combination of these approaches is probably employed. Ideally, such decisions should be made on the basis of a careful, differential diagnosis of the situation. This may seldom be wholly conscious but if practice is meaningful and effective, some such process must take place.

Our investigations suggest that practitioners do operate in this fashion to some extent. Commonly, they take into account the realistic limitations imposed by bureaucracies. They make impressionistic assessments of the strength and potency of various power forces in the community. They make similar assessment of the influences and potential utility of the major institutions in the community. On the basis of these judgments they plan their procedures and employ a range of methodologies.

As a part of this same project William Reid has completed some preliminary investigations in interagency coordination and organizational exchange, that area of activity which absorbs so much of our time and attention (particularly in cell 2, Table 1). He not only confirms that agency coordination is a difficult and complex matter, but suggests that in many instances the game may not be worth the candle. He has provided a most useful framework for further study of these phenomena, and has moved us beyond the need for those clichés and cajoleries I referred to earlier.

In our current judgment, it is premature to attempt complex intercommunity research designs for study of practice, and our activity in this area is largely exploratory, formulative, and descriptive.¹¹ This takes the form of case studies of several inner city areas where practice of various kinds is underway. It is my hope that the results will not only prove interesting and useful in themselves, but will generate hypotheses and suggest methodologies which can lead to more sophisticated comparative studies in the future.

In respect to large-scale social planning, we are also resorting to exploratory and descriptive methods. We hope to complete this

¹¹ Alfred J. Kahn, "The Design of Research," in Norman A. Polansky, ed., *Social Work Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

summer a historical study of a large metropolitan welfare council. Through the use of participant observation, we are also charting the early organizational phases of an ambitious social planning effort, and the more mature behavior of another ongoing organization.

Study and research in planned community change should properly be focused on various aspects of the methodology of community organization practice. It is my firm belief, however, that as members of a practicing profession our ultimate goal in such study should not be merely explanatory. We should leave that to the social scientists who are cooperating with us. We should be actively searching for the elements and actively trying, then, to construct, perhaps not an ideal practice model, but an improved model.

Such a model should include a diagnostic approach to the community and its problems and a differential approach to practice. Beyond that it should take into account interlocking relationships between micro- and macrocommunity systems. The model should conceive of community organization as a practice field in which treatment services are inextricably linked to community development, in which the social welfare system is clearly articulated with other significant service systems, such as education and social control mechanisms; and, finally, it should take into full account the potential for fruitful and rewarding interpenetration between the practicing professions and the academic disciplines of the social sciences.

This may sound like an impossible goal. Perhaps it is, but social work throughout its history and by its very nature strives to achieve the impossible. It only fails when it seeks to do less.

Power Relations and Decision-Making

by HALLOCK HOFFMAN

THE WORD THAT MAKES SENSE of the concept of power relations in a community is "politics." Any concept of politics begins with human beings in association, for politics is something men do in society. The idea of politics is bound to the idea of human purpose. Unless men are capable of acting with the intent to achieve goals, there can be nothing called "politics." Politics has to do with human ends; it is a science or an art that deals with means, but always in the light of goals or hopes or interests. Politics is concerned with organizing human action toward ends conceived in part through political processes, in part judged by political ideas or agencies, in part realized through political institutions, but dependent upon human thought or judgment about goals that are not political. Political activity is aimed at providing some good that is desired by some or all the members of an association; political achievements are subsidiary or intermediate, leading toward goals that are not political.

Almost any human action may be political. For example, speech occurs in connection with many forms of social endeavor, and may be performed, as writing, when the audience is not present and may never come into existence. Speech is the commonest form of political activity. But which speech is political? To make that distinction, it is necessary to know the purpose of the speech and the speaker, and often also the circumstance under which the speech is delivered. Any subject whatsoever may be discussed politically; and any subject, even politics, may be discussed nonpolitically.

There are three main ways of describing politics:

1. Politics is the instrument that men use to seek out and pursue their common good. This view emphasizes the cooperative aspects of men's activities, shows their dependence upon one another for their survival and welfare, and calls attention to the achievements that political order makes possible to society.

2. Politics is the contest for relative advantage of individuals or groups in a society. This view emphasizes the hostile aspects of men's activities and shows their aggressive or self-seeking qualities.

3. Politics is a constellation of human institutions that settle questions about what the members of a social order may do in respect to each other, and what they must do because of their having to live together. This view emphasizes the order and expectation common to all societies, and calls attention to the arrangements of roles and actions of which every social order consists.

All three descriptions of politics refer to the same reality; they are not exclusive. Each approach may lead to an instructive account. None will be complete by itself.

In the classic culture of the West it is the concept of the common good that distinguishes political activity. The idea of the common good involves the association common to all the members of the society, the political association. The common good is common because it is a good available to the members of the society only through their shared membership in the society; it is a good that is not possible for them to obtain separately, and it requires their common action. It is "good" because it is regarded as good by those members who decide what is good for the society. In a society in which political decisions are made by the many, the common good is chosen as the result of the decision of the many; in a society ruled by the few, the common good is chosen by the few. But in either case the common good is the good that is good for all in the judgment of the rulers.

Politics, in this tradition, is the activity of men that finds out their common good and directs their efforts toward attaining it. Politics therefore requires a system of communication that will discover the common elements in the goods desired by some or all of the members of the community, and a process for organizing the

actions of the members so as to attain those goods. Communication that aims to discover the common good is political; and action that aims to bring the common good into being is political.

The second means of identifying acts as political also has a long tradition. Machiavelli made it famous. It depends upon the concept of power. Men are said to have power when they are regarded as being able to make other men act as they wish them to. Under this concept, acts are political when they are aimed at getting some men the fulfillment of their desires by others. Communication is not used to discover the common good, but is used in the struggle for control of some men by others. The social processes—the varying relations among the members of society—will be seen as political in so far as they are directed toward settling the question of “who gets what, when and how.”

Any scheme of politics must take into account the behavior of mankind in the competition for scarce goods. Political history may be measured on a scale of violence, and political progress may be reckoned as the increase of the size and complexity of associations that can live without deadly quarrels. In this view politics is a continuing battle in which the forces brought to bear by the parties of interest contend for control of the conditions of their fulfillment. The pacification of quarrels in a populous society results from substituting less violent forms of conflict for more violent forms.

Both the idea of politics as the search for the common good and the idea of politics as a contest for power are reflected in the Constitution of the United States. Protections against the naked struggle of interests for dominance, for example, are at the root of the separation of powers, of the social contract, and of bills of rights. The idea of the common good as the achievement of peace, order, freedom, and justice is found in the preambles of the American, French, and many other modern constitutions. Political history written from the perspective of the search for the common good tends to regard the extension of rule from the few to the many as progress, in the belief that each member of society knows best what is good for himself.

The third scheme for defining politics concentrates on the social arrangements of a community. The members of a human associa-

tion always settle their differences and decide their actions by some arrangement of rules and some hierarchy of roles or social functions. If the association is new, its first acts—whether by intention of some or all of the members or simply in unconscious function of the necessities of association—will set up a government. The customs or traditions or rules or laws thus established may have great or little formality; they may be determined by some who are strong who then enforce them upon the weaker members of the association, or they may be arrived at by some process of general discussion, consultation, and deliberation. But no group of persons who persist in their association can do so without sharing some set of expectations; and any association tends to teach its newer or less honored members what is expected of them. The institutions thus brought into being are called constitutional.

Now that I have divided all politics into three parts, let me put it back together. Politics, as Aristotle had it, is the architectonic art. It is the fundamental process of synthesizing the common activities of the community. It is through political action, political thought, and political institutions that all are brought into some kind of functioning relationship. It is the making of systems of relationship that creates “power” in the community; and through such systematic relationships that power and influence and actions are summed up in decisions.

A decision, like a power relation, is never a simple thing. It is, in fact, not a thing at all; it is a moment in a process. It is that moment, ordinarily, that is perceived by those who experience it as a moment of change. It is usually accompanied by a reduction in psychological tension—something that has been in conflict is resolved; some scheme of social energy is set in motion in a new direction.

“A decision,” Admiral Radford is supposed to have said, “is what I make when I don’t know what to do.” Harvey Wheeler compares this form of decision-making to the process of making up a freight train. The train is put together, a car at a time; the cars are switched and shunted around the freight yard until they are in the proper order, and, one at a time, hitched in place. When they are all lined up, the train has come into being. So elements of knowledge are

shunted and organized until by their articulation they remove the existing uncertainty. When uncertainties are sufficiently overcome to eliminate all but one possible course of action, there can be no "decision": no reasonable administrator would "choose" to act contrary to the weight of the factors if he has enough information. So Radford refers to decision-making as choosing only when uncertainties have *not* been removed. This idea of decision-making strikes me as peculiarly modern, belonging to an age in which we are used to "programming" machine tools and computers and people.

This way of thinking makes us regard most situations as having one best possible outcome, most problems as having a single best solution, most dilemmas as having one best possible resolution. We have learned to calculate about most of the aspects of our lives. If the parts of a problem can be counted and reckoned and set out in a scheme of statistics and probabilities, we are reassured. The approach to strategy that is implied by game theory and the approach to politics that is implied by the public administration movement are the same: there is *a* best way, and anything less is failure.

This view has much to recommend it. It is clearly correct for a wide variety of routine matters, about which debate is usually the result of ignorance or irrationality. It is stupid, or ignorant, or insane to argue about any matter that can be answered by finding out a number or a name. Philadelphia, for example, used to have four hundred clerks in its city controller's office, and the city's accounts were ten years behind. No one in the city government knew for sure whether the taxes were being appropriately assessed or paid, and no one could find out how much was being stolen from the city through graft of one kind or another. When accounting machines were installed, many occasions for the exercise of judgment were removed. What had to be decided when there had been little information was no longer a subject for deciding. Likewise, inventory decisions of many computerized industrial stockrooms have been eliminated: what is wanted is a scheme that will always keep every bin stocked with the number of items that will be used before the bin will be replenished, and this sort of process is perfectly amenable to statistical analysis by simple machines.

So also it would be possible to put hundreds of the operations of

any city's government under the supervision and control of computers. It will not be long before routing of freeway traffic will be managed, not by policemen flying over the city in helicopters and broadcasting to motorists whose car radios may be turned off, but by electronic scanners and automatic signals. What is now a matter for thousands of individual decisions based on imperfectly transmitted incomplete information will become a matter of routine compliance for most motorists, who will thereby get home from work ten minutes earlier.

What cannot be decided by the computers is whether city dwellers should be permitted to drive automobiles to work. Automobiles make smog, cause vast costs, and raise the value of real estate as they increase congestion. We have some sort of consensus that prevents such questions from being argued about. Yet these questions are really political; they ought to be argued about; their resolution affects the quality of life, and perhaps even the survival of the race.

These questions are not talked about, I think, because of the nature of our humanity. We are men. Men are social animals. We are purposive animals. We can make automatic almost anything we do; that is, let it become habitual and subconscious, almost as if it were instinctive, as in less developed animals. Bears do not have to decide to hibernate; that decision is programed into the bear's nervous system by the chemistry of his cell structure. Given the impulse, the bear has flexibility for working it out. He does not fall asleep standing up, or on a certain date, or when the temperature reaches a certain degree. But, when temperature and time and other factors signal to the bear's internal system, the bear begins to find a hole to sleep in.

We do not have the same sort of apparatus in our cell structure; we have it in our culture. "What is honored in a country will be cultivated there," said Plato. Modern social psychology supports Plato's view. But what is more, what is cultivated in a country will be honored there. So we make blights upon our cities because we honor, and cultivate, a kind of thoughtless worship of an abstraction called "private property," because we have a set of unexamined beliefs about the relation between free private enterprise and the

idea of liberty. We program our culture for slum-dwelling and racial discrimination and land misuse and other nonsense, and complain that we do not have cities of beauty and light and air and civic generosity.

The crucial missing ingredient, it seems to me, is the sense of process, a general apprehension of the community as a whole, a sensation of the articulation of its elements and their interdependencies. We may have had it once. When we broke away from the old European pattern, creating opportunities for mobility and status shifting, we gained freedom, and we expanded our individual abilities; but we lost the ability to discern our relationships with each other, and with that bundle of expectations and obligations and supports that the city used to mean. The citizens of Athens promised each other: "We will unceasingly seek to quicken the sense of public duty. We will revere and obey the city's laws: we will transmit this city not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us." Each citizen was a part of a growing, living whole, a community that had a life of which his life was part—which gave meaning and direction to his own.

Now there is no local history; there is no city, in the ancient sense, no self-sufficient community of men and women capable of self-government. The United States, our only relatively self-sufficient political community, does not have the wholeness for us that tiny Athens had for Pericles and Socrates, while Los Angeles and Chicago and New York are simply intersections of the streams of traffic and pipelines and cables and electronic signals that tie the United States into some sort of linguistic entity.

There is no local history; technology has changed all that. Technology, in the sense of organized and promulgated ideas, has even taken away our conviction of rationality. A government founded on the principle of the consent of the governed presupposes that the governed are capable of consenting. But Freud and his followers have taught us that we are like icebergs—only a fraction of our true selves show. Through unconscious realms beneath our surfaces flow currents of passion and desire that control our conduct, even though we put on a show of reason and good sense.

The political community has thus been stripped of its autonomy

by the effects of technology and deprived of its apparent rationality by the spreading understanding that men are creatures who rationalize more often than they reason. But still the political community is made up of human beings, who must cooperate, who depend upon each other for their sustenance, who therefore comfort themselves by making myths about their world. A myth is not a falsehood; it is a story that helps those who accept it to meet the intellectual and emotional demands of their lives. The myths of the political community teach the members what to do and what to value. They enable the community to perceive itself and suggest to it what it may become.

Some political myths become the basic sinews of the community. Such declarations are given form in laws and constitutions. The American Constitution was drawn up by a group of men assembled for another purpose, and enacted by meetings whose legitimacy was in grave doubt. But within twenty-five years it had become a sacred document; today it is our dearest story of ourselves, and makes us what we are. The system of belief that our Constitution taught us was flexible enough to enable us to stretch and change our meanings to fit our changing circumstances. It raised us up, higher than our common practice. It has made new majorities when none before existed, so that the rights of individuals have expanded greatly beyond what they were in the Founding Fathers' day, and all the while traditionalists have been able to reassure each other that we were returning to ancient and honored truths.

So we are now in the midst of a great struggle to include Negro citizens in the political community. Our success will depend in part on our skill at drawing up the laws and declarations we will have to use to teach ourselves new lessons. The Fair Employment Practices Commission and fair housing statutes have shown up this process. Where such laws have been enacted, "equality" has been learned more rapidly by white *and* colored, and meanwhile the instruments of the community, its courts and law enforcement agents, have been able to resist the rawer manifestations of human fear and insecurity. In California the real estate associations are trying to rewrite an older myth by erasing our newer, better one: they may succeed temporarily because the transition to racial justice

has only recently begun, and those opposed to change have fright and frustration for allies.

I have researched political affairs for some years now; I have found that some men lie and cheat, and many more are dull or weak or frightened. But I have found no positions of such power that the men who held them could arrange to have their way without persuading many other men to help them. I have met some men who thought they could force other people to continue to do what they wished, but they were quite deceived, as Carl Sandburg said, people are full of surprises; the civil rights demonstrations in Alabama ought to make that lesson clear.

All of us have some say in our own governance, and none is completely autonomous. All of us can have some influence, and none has complete control. In the end, it is accurate information about problems and perceptive knowledge of the needs of people that bring about the sort of evolutionary social change upon which decent life depends. In the end, it is trustworthy information about governmental and social practices and noncompulsive effort directed against corrupt and callous practices that reforms community decision-making.

We are still a semicivilized people. Our political communities are face to face with gigantic difficulties. Technology has made almost everything new, and learning has enlarged most of our human hopes. We have now to redesign our places of living and working, to take advantage of our new knowledge and our new technical abilities. The people of the rest of the world are poor, hungry, sick, ignorant, and growing rapidly more numerous— and none of these conditions is any longer necessary. The world has become narrow, and our new neighbors in Southeast Asia and Latin America and Africa need our attention, but we are distracted from assisting them by our preoccupation with outdated and irrational notions about organizing our common efforts. To our lasting shame, we have been so busy getting and spending we have not even reconstructed the ideas that establish our social order here at home—and so we still oppress our poor and colored minorities as if there were some economic or cultural excuse for doing so.

These are the problems to which we should turn our attention.

If we think these problems can be solved by discovering the evil or selfish men who hold power and replacing them with good men, we will repeat and repeat the cycles of previous generations. It is not by displacing "evil" men but by encouraging and developing the good in men and lively governmental structures for their use that we will continue our evolution toward civilization.

World Peace: Foreign Policy or Domestic Issue?

by ARTHUR I. WASKOW

MOST OF US TEND TO ASSUME that peace and war are problems of foreign policy. They have to do with other countries, somewhere across the oceans, or at least across the Caribbean. But I want to suggest that peace is a matter of domestic policy, that when we make military decisions intended to affect some other country, we are changing our own society too—and perhaps changing ourselves even more than we are changing “those foreigners.”

When, for instance, our military conscription system was aimed at collecting large numbers of ordinary Joes to become ordinary foot soldiers, the draft then offered, sometimes at least, a way up and out of despair to unemployed young men who were stuck in a pocket of poverty. But when the conscription system was aimed instead at collecting bright young technicians who could program a DEW line computer or advise a Latin-American police chief how to control some revolutionary peasants, then the half-starved semi-literate son of a sharecropper would be very likely to be screened out of the draft on the very first go-round. And so, a long-range strategic decision between so-called “conventional” war capabilities and an emphasis on thermonuclear capabilities—a decision that would be made on presumably foreign policy grounds—might very well have shaped the hope and the anger of the American poor, and in doing so have shaped the future of us all.

For another example, take the suggestion made during the Cuban crisis of 1962 by the chief Pentagon press officer, that there are times of great opportunity or great danger in foreign affairs when the news is or should be used as a weapon, and when the press should

abdicate its independence in favor of the overwhelming national good. Whether one accepts his argument or not, it is clear that if the American press is used as a weapon for foreign policy ends, there has been a major change in our domestic life.

Finally, our annual national military budget now hovers around the \$50 billion mark. That is one tenth of the total value of all the goods and services produced by Americans every year. Of course, it is by far the largest single shopping list that anybody in America has and, of course, both its size and the particular items that make it up have a pervasive effect on our entire economy, for good or for ill. And so, of course, war and peace are domestic issues in the United States.

This is an enormously important point, especially important to people who have a vision of what American society should be and could be like. After all, people do not live in a deterrent strategy; they live in an ongoing domestic society. If we want to make that society better, to end the hunger and fear that are suffered by the unemployed, or to end the indignity and violence that are suffered by Negroes, or to end the aimlessness and the boredom that are suffered by even affluent youth who are cut off both from meaningful work and a meaningful education—if we want to change our society in those ways, we need to know what part peace and war play, what part the arms race and deterrent strategy play in shaping and sometimes malshaping our society.

It is not only for people who have a fairly clear vision of a future, more decent society, that it is important to look at peace as a domestic issue. It is important to all Americans who really care about democracy, if we define "democracy" as really caring about having the public make the crucial decisions on all great political issues. Because, as things stand today, when it comes to military and foreign policy decisions, we can scarcely be called a democratic nation.

It is not that our Government prohibits the American people from taking part in making military policy; it is just that most of us are not interested. We think that it is all too secret, or too scientific, or too complicated for us. And because we think that it does not concern our daily lives anyway, we do not bother to do the work necessary to discover that military problems are no more secret, no

more scientific, no more complicated than problems like Medicare, or farm prices, or the gold outflow. I am not saying that those problems are simple. Nevertheless, there are many Americans who make it their business to find out the complexities of those problems, and to understand them. But very few people make it their business to understand minimal deterrent strategy, let us say—to use a jargon term—or counterforce strategy—to use another one.

When it comes to really energetic involvement in helping to shape military policy, except for the Government itself, and Government contractors, there are only two groups in the United States that can be said even to try hard; and those are the peace movement and the right wing. But the peace movement and the right wing are only a small proportion of all Americans, even of just the politically active Americans. So long as that situation prevails, we can hardly be said to have a democratic system when it comes to choosing military policy. So long as that system prevails, we can only have decisions that are made on high in Washington, and that is not what we used to think democracy was.

How do we correct this apathy? Unfortunately, a good deal of the peace movement just preaches at people that they *ought* to be informed about foreign policy, even if it is concerned with foreigners and even if it does focus on a thermonuclear war that might take place fifteen or twenty or thirty years hence, or a disarmed world that might come about thirty or forty or fifty years hence.

There is no use in simply scolding people for not caring. Scolding people will not change the situation. What will change it is for those people who do care about “foreign” questions, like deterrent strategy, to begin connecting that foreign issue to the domestic issues that most Americans do care about. And certainly the necessity of making the connection has never been greater than it is today, when Americans for the first time in twenty-five years are confronting a series of major domestic problems, and are trying to work out what they want their own society to look like.

Certainly, in the present atmosphere of American politics, one should not expect “foreign” issues like deterrence or disarmament, if they are treated as purely “foreign” issues, to attract any but a vague and wandering attention. It is much more exciting—and it

is not only much more exciting, it is a great deal more real and in a sense more really important—to face the issues of policemen beating up white and Negro integrationists in Mississippi; or Harlem families refusing to pay rent to white landlords for the right to sleep with the rats; or the permanently unemployed in Hazard, Kentucky, trying to force their own labor unions to pay attention to their plight.

But what is important and what is true (and this was not true during the depression and the New Deal, and it was not true during the great controversy over slavery in the 1850s and 60s) is that now it is impossible to act effectively to change our society at home without facing some of these so-called “foreign” policy issues like military strategy. In other words, it is not only true that people who care about war and peace have to deal with questions of domestic policy; it is also true that people who care about domestic issues, like race relations, education, automation, poverty, have to deal with the issues of war and peace. There is one simple reason: the 10 percent of our gross national product which now goes into military spending. Because of that 10 percent, we would have to go back all the way to the Revolutionary War to think of another time in American history when the nature of our own society at home was tied up so closely to our relations with other countries.

Because of that 10 percent, that \$50 billion of military spending, every decision that we make about social investment in housing for Harlem, or in jobs for northern Michigan and Appalachia, or in Justice Department lawyers and Federal retraining programs in the Mississippi Delta, or in schools for the California orchards, or in Medicare for the aged everywhere, has to take into account our current relations with the Soviet Union, and China, and France, and Brazil, and Viet Nam, and Cuba. And it has to take into account what those relations with those countries mean in terms of that 10 percent, that \$50 billion for military spending.

I have been told that one of these things has nothing to do with the other; that the United States is so rich that it could build a dozen Doomsday machines with one hand while it wiped out poverty and injustice with the other hand. Maybe on the sheer economic or technological level, this may be true. Our idle factories and our un-

employed workers could probably build both the schools we need for the next generation of slum children and the computers we need for the next generation of missiles.

But the question is not just economic or technological. It is political. If we are going to meet our social welfare needs effectively, we will need a major increase in the Federal programs of health, and education, and public works, and social security, and other forms of social insurance, and so on. If we keep our military budget at its present size, *and* add to those programs, we will end up with a considerably larger Federal budget.

Now, does that look politically possible in the next few years? Certainly, to me at least, it would seem to be considerably easier, politically, to add any given amount of additional domestic spending, if that additional spending goes along with a reduction in other kinds of Federal spending—and that means in the military half of the Federal budget.

Ultimately, we might have to ask that political question at an even deeper level. Suppose that, over the next few years, the pressures for domestic social reform get so intense that the budget-balancing mentality gives in and Congress does decide to add domestic social investment to the Federal budget. Would we then be certain that we would want a major increase in the size of the federally controlled sector of the economy? I am not sure myself, but we certainly do not have to answer that question now. All we do have to say now is that because of the strength of the balanced-budget dogma, for the next few years it will probably be a great deal easier to transfer military spending to domestic needs than it would be to raise domestic Federal spending on top of the current budget.

What decisions do we actually face on these problems of military policy as it relates to the budget? It seems to me that in military affairs, and therefore in domestic policy, we are now at one of the great crossroads of our postwar history even though the American people scarcely realize it. For there are two clear paths open in military strategy now, and which one we take will affect, not only our foreign policy, but our domestic social system for years to come.

That crossroads is the point of choice between what has been

called the "damage-limiting strategy" and the strategy of "finite" or "minimal" deterrence. On the one hand, the choice for the damage-limiting strategy would require what Secretary of Defense McNamara himself has called a "huge investment" for an antimissile missile system and for a civil defense system that would include, not only fall-out shelters, but also blast-and-fire shelters. On the other hand, a finite deterrence strategy would make possible what former Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric has calculated would be a 25 percent cut in our present military budget by 1970. That would mean, by 1970, about \$12 billion a year. Now, on the damage-limiting strategy path, our military spending goes drastically up; on the other path, it comes down considerably. That is a major choice. We ought to be treating it as a major choice. It deserves as much attention as the Civil Rights bill, and for precisely the same reasons: the choice we make, one way or the other, will affect what Gunnar Myrdal has called our "underclass" of the permanently poor, black and white; it will affect the level of violence within our society and on our streets; it will affect our hopes for advancing the American dream one more step in the next generation. That is no minor decision. And yet the Civil Rights bill has been debated in every barber shop and on every television station in America. But who has ever heard of the damage-limiting strategy?

Before examining this strategy, let me apologize in advance for sounding like some of the quasi-rational, ultra-cold-blooded theorists of deterrence. I do not believe that their kind of theorizing is a useful way of thinking about military policy, because they theorize in a vacuum. What I mean is that they have never had to confront the flesh-and-blood reality of a thermonuclear war (in the way true scientists confront the real universe in nature or by experiment). Such a war would mean terribly tortured flesh and overwhelming torrents of blood, and I think the flesh and the blood of an actual thermonuclear war would wash away the finespun theories that have been worked out for a controlled, "ultrarational" war using H-bombs. But although I do not accept the basic assumptions of this kind of theorizing, I think it is necessary to examine these theories and to understand them in order to know what is wrong with them.

What is the damage-limiting strategy? It goes on the basic assumption that it is possible to control an H-bomb war even after the war has begun; that it is possible to fight a war with H-bombs in such a way that the population, the basic society of the two sides involved, does not get badly hurt.

The theory is based on the belief that it is possible for one side in a thermonuclear war to aim its weapons at the weapons of the other side, so that each side would be aiming at the forces of the other side rather than at the populations of the other side. That is why it is sometimes called "counterforce policy."

It is called "damage-limiting" strategy on the notion that this kind of ultracontrolled war would limit the damage to the societies that would be fighting. The strategy is based on the notion that it would be possible to protect cities and populations by means of the large civil defense programs, and possibly by means of an antimissile missile system.

The chief example of what is involved here is a "scenario," as it is called by the strategists, for the defense of Western Europe. The West is thought to be inferior in conventional weapons in Western Europe, and therefore would need to be ready to use nuclear weapons. This does not mean using nuclear weapons just tactically at the actual fighting front, because the Soviet Bloc has become strong enough in tactical nuclear weaponry that using these weapons on the front in Europe would simply mean the destruction of Europe, not its defense. I mean rather that Western Europe would be defended by the use of strategic nuclear weapons—thermonuclear weapons—on Soviet soil.

The scenario of events would go something like this. Let us say that the Soviets invaded Western Europe, and let us say that we could not hold them on the ground in Western Europe. We would warn them to stop the invasion, threatening the use of damage-limiting strategy—a limited H-bomb attack on Soviet soil. For example, as I heard the strategists describe it, we might attack five Soviet missile bases in Kamchatka, far away from the cities. Perhaps that would demonstrate our "resolve" to the Soviets, and the idea here is that the point to be gained would be demonstration of "resolve" rather than achievement of military success.

Suppose that did not demonstrate our resolve. Suppose the Soviets, in other words, did not stop their invasion. They might retaliate with an attack on the Panama Canal, or on two missile bases off in Arizona, far away from cities.

This chess-game war would continue back and forth in this ultra-rational, ultracontrolled fashion until one side had demonstrated its resolve better, and the other side would back down. Just in case the Russians lost their heads and tried attacking our cities instead of playing this game—and it must be said that they have so far claimed, over and over again, that they would not play any such chess-game war but would use their H-bombs against our cities in case there were a thermonuclear war—presumably antimissile missiles and civil defense would protect as many people as possible, though, of course—and here is the definition of what Mr. McNamara means by limiting the damage—even so, we would lose “tens of millions” of people anyway.

But notice one very important thing. This whole complicated, grotesque chess-game war fought with H-bombs would be necessary for only one reason: because presumably we could not stop a conventional invasion of Western Europe by conventional means. *But this assumption is no longer true.* To quote Secretary McNamara again: “In Central Europe, NATO has more men, and more combat troops, on the ground than does the Soviet Bloc. It has more men on the ground in West Germany than the Bloc does in East Germany. It has more and better tactical aircraft, and these planes on the average can carry twice the payload twice as far as the Soviet counterparts.”

In other words, it is becoming possible to think in terms of a conventional defense of Western Europe. And it is even true that the Russians could not bring up large enough numbers of troops to mount an all-out invasion from the Soviet Union itself to Central Europe, without tipping their hand long in advance because of our methods of surveillance and information, so that there would even be time to use airlifts to bring up American troops in defense. So we do not need the damage-limiting strategy any more to defend Western Europe. And for other purposes, almost everybody agrees it is pretty senseless. We cannot defend liberty in Viet Nam, for ex-

ample, by fighting a chess-game war against the Soviet Union. Only Western Europe is important enough to both sides to make it worthwhile even to imagine taking the risks that would be involved in fighting this kind of limited strategic war.

There are plenty of problems with this kind of war even in the strategists' own terms, let alone in terms of the tens of millions of deaths. First of all if you are aiming at your enemy's own weapons, and he is aiming at your weapons, there is considerable advantage in firing first, because whoever fires first gets the enemy's weapons while they are still there, and gets his own weapons off the ground so that they are not targets for the enemy. This is not wholly true, because both sides would presumably have some weapons left for a second salvo. But it is certainly true that there is a great advantage in striking first. And this means that if you have chosen that strategy, there is great pressure on you even though you did not intend it before, and on your enemy whether or not he intended it before, to try to fire first when there is an intense political crisis. Secondly, this strategy forces both sides to continue to increase the number of its weapons because each side, in order to protect its weapons from the enemy's weapons, must multiply the number of weapons, dig them deeper, hide them better, spread them out farther, in the hope of having as many weapons as possible survive the first strike by the other side. This proliferation of weapons continues to increase the dangers of unintended war of several kinds: unintended war by action of people who thought they had received an order they had not received; unintended war because of the tremendous pressure on political leaders to know what is going on, because just as there is more to know within a given amount of time in a great crisis, it gets more difficult to know, for there are more forces scattered around the world that might fire. There is greater pressure on central headquarters to know whether they have fired and whether they should fire and what orders to give them. And that kind of pressure, as President Kennedy wrote Premier Khrushchev at the end of the Cuban crisis, forces both sides to the position where they begin to fear that they might lose control of events.

There is also, in semistrategic, semitechnological terms, a strong likelihood that at least one component of this strategy simply would

not work. That is the antimissile missile component. For there is very great doubt, as Secretary McNamara again said to the Congress, that one can work out an antimissile missile system that will really work against an enemy which could more easily invest in adding to its attack missiles. So there are many strategic reasons not to go any further along this path.

What would all this cost? Let me quote the Secretary again, speaking to the House Armed Services Committee:

We estimate that the R. & D. (Research and Development) and investment cost of one possible NIKE-X (the most likely antimissile missile system) defense program would amount to about \$16 billion and it would cost a very substantial additional amount each year to operate the system. And these estimates may prove to be low.

Then he went on:

Such a NIKE-X program would probably be relatively effective against small to moderate missile attacks providing other appropriate measures were also taken.

And then he pointed out:

Even then, fatalities could number several tens of millions. But the NIKE-X program would have to be considerably expanded for defense against a large soviet attack.

Now notice the qualifications in that statement. The only figure that Secretary McNamara mentioned was \$16 billion, but he said in several different ways, in several different places, that the real amount would probably be a great deal higher than \$16 billion that this would only be the initial investment. It would not even include continued annual upkeep. And then Mr. McNamara added that there would be little sense in having this antimissile system unless we also had shelters, not only against fall-out, but also against blast and fire. He did not give a figure for that, but estimates for reasonable blast-and-fire, as well as fallout protection run from \$20 billion, from the Holifield Subcommittee on Government Operations, to \$200 billion, from an independent group of engineers and economists.

Let me make clear that Secretary McNamara was not recommending that the United States go ahead with NIKE-X now. He

was explaining what it would cost for us to do so. But he was hinting that next year the Defense Department *might* recommend that this program be carried out despite the high cost. The most important fact about this whole question, even though he did not say it is that there is a very considerable debate now going on inside the Defense Department as to whether we should or should not go ahead with NIKE-X.

In short, although we do not need the damage-limiting strategy, although there would be grave dangers in trying to have the option to use the damage-limiting strategy, although we probably cannot get it even if we try, and although trying would cost huge sums of money—despite all that, because of the built-in institutional demands from parts of the military-industrial-scientific complex for more work to do and more money to do it with, and because of the old habit of seeking military superiority, even when it cannot be used, even when superiority ceases to mean anything except additions to the number of times you can destroy the enemy society after it has already been destroyed—because of these old and lazy ways of thinking within the Defense Department, there are some interests that are pressing for a NIKE-X antimissile missile program and a large-scale civil defense program.

On the other hand, former Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric wants to cut the military budget by \$12 billion or so a year by 1970. The damage-limiting side of the argument wants to increase the military budget, who knows by how much. But, if one counts the NIKE-X and fire-and-blast shelters, it might come to \$12 billion a year by 1970—so certainly there could not be any reduction in the present defense budget.

Thus, at a reasonable guess, the swing between these two strategies—the possible \$12 billion increase and the \$12 billion reduction at an impossible minimum—is \$24 billion a year. That is a lot of money.

Let me go just a little deeper into the choice that Mr. Gilpatric puts before us. That is the choice that could give us somewhere between \$12 billion and \$24 billion more a year to use for our public needs. It is the strategy of finite deterrence, as against the strategy of infinite arms race.

Mr. Gilpatric drew upon the increasing evidence of *detente* with the Soviet Union and the increasing evidence of equality in conventional forces that I mentioned before. He proposed that we scrap all strategic forces except the Minuteman Missile and the Polaris System. He suggested that we dump the Strategic Bomber Force, that we abandon all civil defense, and that we abandon all our efforts at antimissile missile systems; and that we essentially decide that the only thing H-bombs can be used for is to deter somebody else from using his H-bombs; in other words, one could not use H-bombs in order to win political or military victories.

Mr. Gilpatric was not talking about an agreement on disarmament, though I would say that choosing his path would make it a good bit more likely that we could ultimately move toward total disarmament. He was simply talking about an independent decision. And, by the way, he is no radical on this. He talks about keeping essentially 1,500 missiles. The late Leo Szilard suggested that we only needed forty missiles in order to deter the Russians from using H-bombs on us.

I have not even gone into the ultimate possibilities of what American society might gain, or the problems it might face, in case we did have world-wide total disarmament. That, obviously, would release almost the entire \$50 billion for civilian spending, both here and in the underdeveloped world.

That is an issue for the future. I want to concentrate on an issue which faces us here and now, for I think something enormously exciting is happening in American politics. I think that what is going on is a convergence of the great issues: a convergence of the issues of arms reduction, peace, and disarmament; the issue of civil rights and racial equality; the issue of the end of poverty and the sane use of automation to produce leisure instead of unemployment; the issue of decent schools, decent cities, an exciting America—a worthy and exciting use of that great abundance. Now, that convergence is just beginning. I think it has to be nurtured. I think it has to be built into a working political coalition, because issues do not just converge in a vacuum. They only converge if the people who believe in each of the issues separately also believe that the issues are converging and work together with those people who be-

lieve in the other converging issues. In other words, if there is built, out of this convergence, a coalition of those in American politics of the last few years who have been focusing chiefly on peace and disarmament; those who have been focusing chiefly on civil rights and racial conflicts; those who have been focusing chiefly on social and economic welfare; those who have been focusing chiefly on the quality of American society—if such a coalition were put together it would have to focus on how to transform the arms race into a world-wide competition in building a decent society. I think a coalition like this would have to treat peace as a domestic issue as well as a foreign policy issue. I think a coalition like this would have to treat peace as a discussable issue, a debatable issue, one which was not decided on high in Washington, but one which was decided all around the United States.

I think such a coalition would have to focus upon demands upon the Administration to make a decision on the military strategy choice that faces them. I think such a coalition would have to bring to the Congress the demand that the Congress examine strategy and not rubber-stamp, as it has each year for fifteen years, Administration decisions on military strategy.

I think this is what a democracy means. I think this is certainly what a democracy means when it comes to democratic decisions on war and peace. It seems to me that if we do not have democratic decisions on war and peace, we really have them on nothing in the world of the twentieth century.

It seems to me that we ought now to be working on the idea that peace is a domestic issue, and a debatable issue; that the issue of peace is converging with the issues of social change and social progress in the United States. In short, it seems to me now, today, next week, this year, and next year that a working political coalition of the most forward-looking groups in our society is absolutely necessary in order to revive the democratic debate on, and make a democratic decision on, the questions of war and peace. It seems to me that it is no mean job for any American to revivify democracy, create our society anew, and move toward peace.

Current Issues in Civil Rights

by LEWIS M. KILLIAN

ONCE THERE WAS A rural school district, with many husky, hard-working farm boys in the various schools. One September the superintendent decided to inaugurate a program of organized athletics. The first year, track would be emphasized, and a district track meet would be held in the spring. All the principals rushed to start their athletic programs, but one was told, "Your boys can't compete in the track meet. They are from a backward neighborhood; your school has a poor conduct record, many of the children are dirty, and their diet is poor. They wouldn't stand a chance in the meet, and other people wouldn't enjoy having them there."

Now the principal and the parents and the boys knew that they were not this bad. Quite rightly they cried, "This is unfair." They drew up petitions asking the superintendent to change his ruling; all winter long they had mass meetings to express their indignation. The students even cut classes one day to demonstrate their displeasure. In the meantime, the other schools had appointed track coaches, organized track teams, and started practice. All winter they trained hard; they learned fundamentals, such as good starts, hand-offs in the relays, and the newest styles of high jumping.

Then, just a week before the track meet, the superintendent relented. He announced that this school could enter a team. Hastily, a team was organized, and for a week they trained frantically. But of course they came in last in the meet. Worse yet, in their anxiety to prove themselves and because of their lack of training, some of the boys broke the rules and were disqualified. The superintendent said self-righteously, "I told you so!" And at the end, the discrimination was as great as it had been at the beginning.

Of course, this fable does not provide an exact analogy to the

plight of Negro Americans today. The doors of opportunity were not all thrown open immediately when the Supreme Court decreed that they could not be closed solely because of race. But it should be obvious that the message of the fable does apply to Negro Americans today. Throwing people into competition without giving them the skills required for the race can be just as discriminatory as denying them the opportunity to compete. It may be even more discriminatory; for it seems to confirm the claims of those who believe that the excluded group is inferior. It is a more insidious form of discrimination; for it masquerades as equality of opportunity and puts the burden of proof on the victims, not on the discriminators.

Of course, this sounds suspiciously like the old cliché, "The Negro is not ready for integration!" But this assertion, made ten years after the Brown decision, has a different significance from the one it had in an earlier context. Now that it has been rejected as an excuse for supporting the myth that legally enforced segregation and discrimination could be reconciled with the Constitution, we are free to examine the painful elements of truth which it contains. To say that no American should be denied equality of opportunity because of his race is *not* the same as saying that every American is equally prepared to take advantage of opportunity in spite of the social handicaps of race. And the fact is that for most Negroes, the twentieth-century legacy of slavery, segregation, and discrimination is cultural deprivation.

Therefore, there are two basic, current, *and* enduring issues in civil rights. One is how to secure to Negro Americans that right "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" which the spirit of America promises. The other is how to equip them to pursue these goals in a society which has never promised its individual citizens equal happiness, but only equal freedom to seek happiness. Unfortunately, these corollary issues are too often regarded as separate and even as antithetical. In the past the loudest voices have been those suggesting that preparing Negroes for the race was the only current issue and that the securing of rights was a problem for some dim tomorrow. Today the most strident voices cry that "freedom now" is the only real issue and that preparation for free competition is a diversionary issue.

But to neglect either of these issues is to forestall or even preclude the resolution of the whole problem of the status of Negroes in American society. The very future of our democracy may be at stake, for a democratic solution to the civil rights problem is by no means guaranteed. We must work very hard if one is to be achieved. In working at this task there can properly be a division of labor, with some Americans concentrating on the securing of rights, others on the preparation for freedom. The fact that a citizen feels, for whatever reason, that he cannot commit himself to the battle against artificial barriers does not mean that he cannot contribute to the task of increasing human dignity. It is certainly no excuse for saying, "What can I do?" while he does absolutely nothing.

Social workers, as professionals with specialized knowledge and skills, may logically contribute most to the preparation of Negroes for competition. Again, let me emphasize that we need not demean this part of the task. It may not be as dramatic and as dangerous as the battles of the picket lines, but it is just as difficult and just as heroic. Instead of courage to face the angry mob, it requires perseverance to overcome apathy, selfishness, and the absence of immediate, visible results. But in the long run it is just as important as the struggles against entrenched, arbitrary discrimination. There is growing evidence that no matter how successful the "*black bourgeoisie*" may be in breaking down legal and traditional forms of segregation, the Negro masses are in danger of becoming an urban proletariat trapped behind economic and educational barriers. We cannot afford to assume complacently that the cultural gap between white and Negro Americans will be closed without a special effort. And such a special effort will demand unprecedented ingenuity and imagination from economists, educators, social workers, and other professionals, for traditional solutions are no longer effective.

But why these cries of alarm? Have not Negroes and whites gotten along up to now without abject dependency or the threat of revolt? Why, when the United States has the highest standard of living in its history, when we are in a period of prolonged prosperity, should the problem of race relations become critical?

Some people would argue that it is only exorbitant hopes en-

gendered by the desegregation decisions of the past decade which have sparked the Negro revolution. But equally important are profound changes in our society and in the position of the Negro in it. It is not just segregation about which Negroes are demonstrating and sometimes rioting. It is also poverty, cultural impoverishment, and alienation from a society that is moving forward but threatening to leave the Negro masses behind in its progress.

For example, there is no denying that the income of Negro Americans has increased since the depression, just as has the income of all Americans. But that Negro income has increased gradually but erratically over the years is not the important point. More significant is the fact that white income has increased even more, so that the economic gap between the groups has widened. In 1952 the difference in white and nonwhite median family income, expressed in constant dollars, was \$1564. In 1961, the difference had increased to \$2182.¹ In 1954 the median family income of nonwhite families, in current dollars, was 56 percent that of white families. In 1961, it was 53.4 percent.²

The concept of relative deprivation is highly relevant when we make such comparisons between citizens in a democratic, dynamic society. This is a society in which competition and status-seeking pervade almost every aspect of life from cub league baseball through graduate education, from the hair styles of teen-agers through the house styles of their parents. It would be most surprising if Negro Americans did not measure progress and achievement by comparison with "the Joneses." And the fact is that Negroes are *not* "keeping up with the Joneses"—the white Joneses, that is.

Problems of employment for Negroes show signs of growing worse, despite some gains.³ It is true that there has been a slight advance in the proportion of Negroes in professional, managerial, clerical, and skilled occupations since 1940. At the other end of the

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1962). Constant dollars are computed by the purchasing power of the dollar Consumer Price Index.

² U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Consumer Income," Series P 60.

³ *Employment and Earning*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), Table A, p. 11.

occupational ladder, however, there has been a reduction in the proportion employed as unskilled labor. The greatest expansion of Negro employment has been in the category of "operatives," or semiskilled labor, where the percentage employed has doubled since 1940. Still, approximately 70 percent of Negroes are employed as laborers, semiskilled or unskilled, or as service workers, as compared with only about one third of white workers.

But unemployment must be considered along with employment, and here the picture is indeed alarming. The rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice that among whites.⁴ In May of 1963, one out of twenty workers was unemployed, but one out of ten Negro workers was out of work. The same relationship prevailed between white and Negro youth just entering the labor market, but the incidence of unemployment was even greater for both. One out of six white teen-agers and one out of three Negro teen-agers seeking work was unemployed. We know that in some areas, particularly in some cities with large concentrations of Negroes, the unemployment rate for Negroes, particularly for young workers, is even higher.

If we look only to crude racial discrimination as the source of the Negroes' employment problem we will overlook important factors which would persist even if all employers suddenly became color-blind. While racial discrimination was the major factor in producing the current differential in Negro employment, there is a real danger that this differential may be sustained in the future by economic and demographic forces which are nonracial. One such factor, the effect of which is already quite apparent, is the drastic reduction in the need for farm labor. This has contributed directly to the massive migration of Negroes which has changed them from a rural to an urban population. The effects of automation and the raising of skill requirements in nonfarm work are not as clear, but the portents are ominous. Negroes in unprecedented numbers are attempting to enter the urban, industrial complex at a time when the demand for semiskilled, semieducated workers is shrinking. The very occupational level to which they have had the greatest upward mobility, that of operatives, is the one most threatened by automa-

⁴ "Jobs—Key to National Unrest," *U. S. News & World Report*, June 24, 1963, p. 37.

tion. A few years from now we may find that even these gains were ephemeral.

Nor must we overlook the impact of the population explosion. Not just higher skill requirements but more potential workers are making the search for jobs more and more competitive. Between 1950 and 1960 teen-agers were added to the labor force at a rate of 80,000 per year. It is estimated that for the decade of the sixties the rate will be 250,000 per year. During the fifties the number of workers aged twenty to twenty-four actually declined by 335,000. Current projections indicate that during the present decade the number of workers in this age group will increase by more than four million.⁵

All these factors, impinging not only on the Negro worker but on all workers, add to the "creeping unemployment" of our times. After the 1948-49 recession, unemployment dropped back to a level of about 3 percent. Following the recession of 1953-54 it receded to 4 percent. Following the 1957-58 recession the rate was 5 percent. But in 1963, with no recession except the brief flurry at the time of steel crisis, the unemployment rate had climbed to 5.5 percent.

With the existing racial differential in opportunity and in qualifications for employment, there is no group in the United States which has a greater stake than Negroes in a prosperity which is reflected, not only in the stock market, but in the job market. An economic condition which may appear to be one of mild prosperity to the white segment of a community may appear as a depression in the Negro subcommunity. In a competitive system, he who is least well prepared suffers most as the competition becomes keener.

And, as was suggested in our fable, the Negro is ill-prepared to compete in a society which is becoming increasingly a technological, automated, educated society. The same thing is happening in education that is happening in employment. Just as the Negro seems to be beginning to close the gap, standards are raised and whites move further ahead. This is not a matter just of segregated schools; it is a matter of inferior schools. It is not just a problem of Southern schools; it is a problem of predominantly Negro schools in any region. Kenneth Clark, after extensive research in schools in Negro

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

neighborhoods of New York City, concluded: "The bulk of the Negro youngsters who are being turned out . . . are functional illiterates. . . . They are not equipped to compete with any hope of success for other than menial jobs." ⁶ Eli Ginsberg declares:

If the color barrier could be eliminated overnight, that fact alone would not materially improve the position of the Negro. Just as white men now must compete with each other in terms of aptitude, education, and skill, so too does this same challenge face the Negro as the artificial employment barriers which stand in his way are successively eliminated.⁷

The cumulative educational deficit of Negroes stands as a barrier, not only to their employment, but to their continued education. Something of an educational revolution has occurred in this nation during the past ten years. The near-hysteria that accompanied the launching of Sputnik I, plus growing disillusionment with some of the pedagogical experiments and fads of the first half of the century, produced a growing demand for "quality" education, particularly at the university level but also in the secondary and elementary schools. On the level of higher education, the pressure of burgeoning applications combined with the desire for quality education to foster the policy of "selective admissions." Perhaps the best measure of the extent of these trends is the spread of reliance on standardized test results as the criterion for admission.

We may question what it is that such tests test. We may argue that they are so culture-bound as to be unfair to Negro children as well as to many other population segments. We may argue that many children who score low are nevertheless learning much that the test results do not reflect. But there has been no revolt against the tyranny of testing, and today's children are entering a world in which the test is increasingly "the measure of the man." Test results have a terribly practical significance for them.

What this significance may be for the Negro student is exemplified by the plight of Negro high school graduates in Florida. For some fifteen years an achievement test known as the Florida Twelfth

⁶ Kenneth Clark, "The Negro Is Tired of Waiting," *U. S. News & World Report*, June 10, 1963, pp. 39-40.

⁷ Eli Ginzberg, *The Negro Potential* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 12.

Grade Test has been administered to all high school seniors. Prior to 1957 this test was used for diagnostic purposes only. In the years just before the 1954 school desegregation decisions, 90 percent of Negro seniors scored lower than 200 on the test. This score marked the point below which the lowest 40 percent of white students fell. In 1957 the score on this test was made the basis for selective admission to the state universities, with 200 as the minimum acceptable score. At the present time, the great majority of white students admitted have scores of 300 or better. But today, ten years after the Brown decision, and nearly seventy years after the Supreme Court ruled that if schools were separate they must at least be equal, it is evident that Negroes are still receiving a grossly inferior education. Less than 10 percent of Negro high school seniors in Florida score as high as 200 on the Twelfth Grade Test, and less than 5 percent score as high as 300. Thus, while the law of the land has opened the doors of the major universities to Negro students, lack of adequate preparation still stands as a barrier to the great majority of them. There is no place in today's crowded university for the ill-prepared student.

What makes the situation critical is that neither is there a place outside the universities for the substandard high school graduate or, worse yet, for the dropout. During previous stages of economic expansion we have been able to afford the luxury of a sizable class of undereducated workers because there was a place in the work force for them. This place is rapidly disappearing on the farm, in industry, even in service occupations, and the presence of these marginal workers, white or black, becomes a critical problem. What threatens to be a class problem would also be a race problem, for Negroes are vastly overrepresented in this new class of unwanted workers. Yet another danger signal is to be found in current trends in the redistribution of Negro population. Here again, unwarranted optimism is sometimes derived from the fact that Negroes are no longer concentrated in the rural South. As many live outside the South as dwell within the region today, whereas 90 percent lived in the South fifty years ago. But this does not mean that Negroes are any the less segregated residentially. Far overshadowing the interregional migration has been the cityward movement, both in the

South and outside the South. Today 75 percent of Negro Americans live in urban areas, and most of these are concentrated in the most densely populated portions of the central cities. Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of Negroes within the corporate limits of every one of our fifty largest cities increased. Every member of the black *bourgeoisie* who succeeds in breaking out of the ghetto is replaced many times by rural migrants. Thus, in spite of token integration, the lower-class Negro community continues to grow, and it continues to deteriorate as it becomes more crowded, more isolated, and more alienated. Although a fortunate minority may escape from it, no master planner has yet discovered the formula for dispersing it.

But the urban Black Belt is more than just a concentration of people who are, on the average, undereducated, underemployed, and poorly housed. It is a cultural milieu which limits the horizon of the adult members, shapes the values of oncoming generations, and profoundly influences the attitudes of white Americans toward all Negroes. It is a haven of refuge for those who have forsaken the American dream in despair. It is a fertile field for exploitation by human parasites, white or black, who have a vested interest in segregation and poverty. It is a staging area where the growing army of frustrated, embittered youth mobilize for blind aggression against a society that has rejected them.

We must be tough-minded enough to admit that the pace of desegregation is not going to be rapid enough to warrant neglect of the problems of cultural deprivation which the urban Negro community encompasses. A half century of futile, half-hearted observance of the principle of "separate but equal" has demonstrated that separation constitutes as great a barrier to fulfillment of the American dream as does inequality. But this does not justify the assumption that segregation is the only problem and that inequality will disappear simply because the present forms of segregation are eliminated. This philosophy has been described by Waldo Beach, a theologian, as "a sociological messianism which speaks as if the elimination of segregation is the one more river to cross to enter the promised land." Beach warns of this sort of monistic strategy, "im-

patient for the new order, it neglects to offer the cup of cold water in the present one.”⁸

It is becoming increasingly evident that the old methods of attacking inequality, and some that are not so old, are not adequate for the task that faces us. In the administration of financial aid, in family counseling, in curriculum development, in vocational guidance, in adult education, in every area of life, we need to keep in mind that the underprivileged Negro represents a special problem. To treat him as a special problem does not require acceptance of the premise that he is innately different. It does require honest acceptance of the fact that centuries of exclusion from the main stream of American life have produced cultural differences which are real and which are perpetuated through the family and the community. While it is unrealistic to assume that these differences will disappear without the disappearance of the segregated Negro community, it is also unrealistic to assume that assimilation can take place without a drastic reduction of these differences. In short, the struggle to secure the right of Negroes to compete freely must not be allowed to obscure the need to help many Negroes prepare to compete. And those who labor to help reduce inequality of preparation need not feel guilty because they are not on the picket lines.

In St. Petersburg, Florida, both white and Negro volunteers are offering an enrichment program for Negro children after school and on Saturdays. In St. Louis, Assistant Superintendent Samuel Shepard has already demonstrated that even within a school district which remained almost totally segregated in spite of token integration it was possible to raise achievement levels dramatically. But such gains are not made by treating the Negro slum child as if he were the product of a middle-class white home and neighborhood. Extraordinary ingenuity is required if we are to produce strong motivation for learning in children who must look far away for models of success. We cannot depend on promises of greater opportunity to come after the political struggle over civil rights is won to provide this motivation. We cannot rely upon the standard, white-

⁸ In Paul Ramsey, ed., *Faith and Ethics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 223-24.

oriented text material to convince Negro children that their people can lay claim to a significant place both in America's past and in its future. Nor can we rest secure in the thought that the changing content of the mass media, particularly television, will convince Negro school children of the value of the three *R*'s. The behavioral models which they see on the television screen are still most likely to be those of the professional athlete or the stage performer.

Nor is this just a problem for the schools. Like so many things, motivation begins in the home. Any agency which can reach into the home on whatever pretext has an opportunity and a challenge to contribute to the enormous task of preparing an entire generation to take advantage of broadening opportunities not open to their parents. In some communities an expanded program of adult education for these parents is being tried; such a program may prove to be more important for the children than it is for the parents. Finally, I would suggest that the entire Negro community may play a part in the upgrading of pupil motivation. E. Franklin Frazier decried the growing isolation of the black *bourgeoisie* from the black masses. Successful business and professional men—not just the already familiar classroom teacher—might be used as very real and very present models on Career Days and similar occasions in the schools.

In talking about developing motivation for Negro students to take full advantage of their educational opportunities, it is important to remember the nature of the society for which they are being educated. It would be a tragedy to encourage thousands of youngsters to prepare for jobs which are shrinking in number. Effective fair employment legislation may increase the proportion of jobs open to Negroes as operatives and skilled workers in industry, but automation is producing an "economy of leisure" in which the need for workers does not rise as rapidly as does the output of goods. The greater expansion of job opportunities for all Americans will be in upgraded clerical jobs and in a wide variety of personal services. Traditional concepts of vocational education are outmoded. For an ever-enlarging proportion of tasks in our economy, adequate vocational education must include a firm foundation in English and mathematics. Vocational education must begin in the first

grade with basic skills; a vocational training curriculum superimposed on a foundation of inferior academic preparation is as meaningless as a college program that rests on such a foundation.

Personal services include everything from the professions to domestic service. At the high-status end of the scale there is no problem in attracting ambitious Negroes. The problem is that of sound preparation. Out of misguided charity, on the one hand, and the desire to preserve segregation, on the other, we have for years subsidized and perpetuated inferiority among allegedly well-educated Negroes. I know of one Negro law school which, in over ten years of operation, has produced no more than two graduates who could pass the state bar examination. Thousands of Negro teachers have good reason to fear the integration of public school faculties, for they know that they have been shortchanged in their education all the way through to their graduate work. This has happened not only in segregated schools and colleges. It has happened in certain of our best universities, where some faculty members will now admit that they have used a double standard in grading Negro students, "leaning over backward" to help them meet the formal requirements for a degree. When I first had the opportunity to teach Negro students in an integrated university, E. Franklin Frazier gave me this advice: "Don't be easy on your Negro students; that would be one of the worst injustices you could do them!" As discrimination based on prejudice diminishes, opportunities for Negroes will increase. We must be sure that "reverse discrimination" based on guilt does not prevent them from making the most of these opportunities.

Making the most of opportunities in nonprofessional service occupations may pose a quite different problem. Ironically, this problem stems from the fact that historically Negroes have been so strongly overrepresented in many of these jobs, such as those in the hotel and restaurant industry. Such work bears a stigma of servitude dating back to the days of slavery. Yet as a greater proportion of the population spend their time and their money in leisure activities, the demand for service workers should increase. As the demand for production workers declines we may see an increasing proportion of white workers competing for the service jobs. With the com-

petition there may be an upgrading of these jobs. It may prove in the long run to be well worth the struggle for Negroes to attempt to preserve their position in service even as they try to improve their position in occupations with a traditionally higher status.

Much of what I have said sounds very much like the old alibi, "The Negro is not ready for integration. Let him improve himself first." Yet we do need to recognize that it is not just resistance to the Negro revolution that has brought us to the plateau of tokenism. It is the hard fact that many Negroes are not equipped to take advantage of opportunities as they open up. Because they have been excluded and restricted for so long, Negro Americans constitute a backward nation in our midst. They do need to make a collective effort to improve themselves, and they must make much of this improvement within the framework of society as it is—still segregated. But it is patently ridiculous to say that they can do this alone when the white man controls the major institutions of the society. Instead of regarding the racial crisis as an annoying intrusion into their more important business, as many do, white leaders need to regard it as our major domestic problem. This does not mean that they must all become civil rights leaders. It means rather that as businessmen, as government officials on all levels, as professionals in all fields, they must give a major share of their attention to examining the implications for race relations of everything that they do. This includes learning to recognize the contribution that various types of Negro leaders can make to a constructive solution.

The public image of the Negro leader today is cast largely in terms of the militant civil rights advocate who leads demonstrations. If white men of power condemn this type of leadership as "reckless," "fanatic," or "irresponsible," they should consider their own part in shaping the pattern of Negro leadership. All over the nation there are Negro leaders and potential leaders who, while yielding to no man in their devotion to the cause of freedom, are struggling realistically with the problem of cultural deprivation. They recognize that there are no quick and easy solutions to the civil rights issue. But what is their fate? As men who are trying to keep cool, level heads in the midst of a revolution they must steel themselves against the jibes of other Negroes who call them "Uncle

Tom's" and accuse them of feathering their own nests. When Kenneth Clark suggested the ambitious Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) program to combat juvenile delinquency a Negro editor in Harlem attacked the proposal with the declaration "I'm fed up with social workers in Harlem because the average social worker in Harlem prostitutes the misery of the community and spends three quarters of his time trying to convert that misery into dollars and cents to put in his own pocket." Negro leaders who have opposed school boycotts have been denounced as surrendering to segregation.

Yet over and over again it has been the so-called "irresponsible" leaders who have made the headlines and to whom white leaders have paid the most attention. All too often the Negro leader who approaches the white power structure with a well-reasoned request for serious consideration of a complex problem receives a polite brush-off. Worse yet, if he comes with his head high rather than with hat in hand he may not even receive an audience. The experience of the Urban League well illustrates this. Shortly after the desegregation decision of 1954 many chapters were pressured out of united fund drives simply because the leadership of the League, National and local, affirmed its support for the principle of the decision.

Yet because of the sociological reality of the Negro community, Negro leaders have a crucial role to play in the amelioration of the conditions of the Negro masses. Milton Gordon points out that this should not be regarded as a special responsibility of the Negro community but as a special opportunity. Using Negro delinquency as an example, he argues:

Negro communal leaders may (1) be in a position to provide special insights into the dynamics of social processes within the Negro lower classes and Negro lower-class family life which contribute to the excessive delinquency rate; (2) be able to do more effective ameliorative field work in standard social work processes because of the greater rapport which is likely to exist between lower-class Negroes and Negro social workers, and to supplement existing social work measures directed toward the Negro community which are currently in short supply; and (3) be in a position to devise and carry through institu-

tional counter-measures whose particular effectiveness would derive from their source within the Negro community.⁹

Mature, well-informed, responsible Negro leaders are required to seize this opportunity, leaders who are willing to forego the rewards of quick, symbolic victories. If white leaders, particularly at the community level, do not accord such Negro leaders dignity by recognizing them and prestige by working with them, then the angry young men of the Negro revolution will prevail.

Some students of public affairs question this use of the term "revolution" to characterize the Negroes' struggle for equality. One argument is that this is not a revolution because it strives to fulfill fundamental American values, not to change them. But we run the risk of underestimating the gravity of this crisis if we fail to recognize that what is demanded is a truly revolutionary reinterpretation of these values. Despite the explicit broadness of such phrases as "All men are created equal," the United States has been and still remains a white man's country. The very term "American" carries with it an implicit racial modifier, "white." It is no secret to Negroes that, official pronouncements notwithstanding, it is in fact better to be a white American than a black American. Even when they have not actively sought it, even when they are unaware of it, white Americans enjoy a status advantage which is reflected in every facet of their lives. One reason for the so-called "white backlash" outside the South is the awakening of such Americans to the real implications of the Negro revolution. There is little evidence that most white Americans will willingly give up their status advantage, their sense of dominance, and indeed their perception of what is one of the defining characteristics of self in our society. For the Negro protest movement to seek by whatever means to force them to do so makes it a revolution.

Yet another argument, though, is that this cannot be or become a revolution because it is nonviolent and because Negroes must realize that they do not have the power to revolt. To argue so is to forget that Negroes are indeed human and subject to the same illusions as other men. Revolutions are never led by cautious men who can

⁹ *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 260-61.

be daunted by overwhelming odds. Nor are the ranks of a revolutionary movement filled with highly rational followers who question the commands of their leaders; they are filled with desperate men who fear death less than they abhor their present condition. The major cities of the United States contain many such recruits, and there is no dearth of zealots to lead them in unequal battle.

Not even the initial dedication of the leaders to restraint in their choice of tactics is enough to insure that a social movement will not change its character during its career. The nature of the opposition to a movement is a major variable influencing its developing character. When a strong, growing movement is met by determined opposition the leaders may become both more impatient and more daring; they may begin to resort to the short cuts of power tactics. Already, within less than a decade, we have seen the tactics of the Negro protest movement move far beyond the legalistic strategy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The resistance movement which arose to fight desegregation, first in the South and now in other regions, has dashed the hopes of millions of Negroes for peaceful and rapid implementation of court decisions. The seemingly interminable battle in Congress over the Civil Rights bill is shaking their faith in the legislative process. The oft-repeated threat of "a long, hot summer" if the Civil Rights bill does not pass the Senate without amendments comes perilously close to constituting a revolutionary call to arms.

Thus the major issue in civil rights is what the nature and the consequences of the Negro revolution will be. Our system of government was designed to make possible major social changes without destruction of the fabric of society, to substitute parliamentary revolutions for violent ones. Never since 1860 has this system been confronted with such a serious challenge as it is today. Perhaps this is a prophecy of doom; future historians and sociologists may not classify the present crisis as a revolution. But it would profit all Americans, white and Negro, to regard it as a revolution which threatens to rend our society into bitterly hostile racial factions which may never be reconciled again. Not complacency but heroic measures to reduce both separation and inequality are demanded in these perilous times.

Past Campaigns in the War on Poverty

by *RALPH E. PUMPHREY*

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT of an all-out war on poverty has inspired excitement. Here, at last, is an attempt to wipe out a problem with a permanence and unassailability seemingly endowed with Biblical sanctions. True, there has been healthy skepticism about the adequacy of the appropriations requested. Realism also demands recognition of such mundane considerations as politics, personal ambition, and fear of the consequences of *not* acting. Nevertheless, the spotlight has been focused on a monumental problem in our national life which elicits diverse political, economic, and social reactions.

We all know that poverty is, to a large extent, a subjective concept, influenced heavily by the values held by the person making the assessment. Some people sacrifice material wealth or advantage to gain a spiritual, intellectual, or artistic good, and tend to regard those who make other choices as "poor." Even if we accept the most common connotation of poverty as a lack of material resources, its perception by different people is dependent on experience, standards, and the relative accessibility of greater resources.

There is the difference in point of view between the observer and the observed. Some poor persons may feel a sense of lack which serves to stimulate aspirations which make of them Dick Whittingtons and Horatio Algers. Others live out their lives in discouragement, with a sense of impotence to achieve any change.

The onlooker may respond to poverty with a humanitarian sense of compassion for hardships experienced by some individual, and perform deeds of generosity and kindness. Or, he may look beyond

the individual to the large numbers of the poor in similar conditions, and see in the aggregate threats to himself personally or to society. The particular measures which he may advocate will depend on basic philosophical attitudes. If he tends to think in social terms, he will probably seek devices which will strengthen or conserve the poor person as a social resource. If he tends to think in individualistic terms he will probably want to experiment with programs which will tend to weaken the competitive position of the disadvantaged.

A person who views those in poverty as victims of an implacable universe may see as alternatives the teaching of resignation to the inevitable or the development of a humane assistance program to cushion the blows of fate. A Social Darwinist might interpret the first alternative as a wholesome withholding of unnecessary aid while considering the second a debilitating dole which would drain away any incentive to personal exertion.

Social workers frequently have been identified with those who have felt a humanitarian, sympathetic concern for the immediate problems of the entrapped poor. But the sort of war on poverty which is being talked about in 1964 grows out of recognition of pervasive general problems and attempts to deal with them on a broad social scale. Social workers and others who have taken this approach have often been able to enlist the active support and involvement of the humanitarians, but their objectives have been not so much the alleviation of immediate needs as the changing of conditions which are bearing in on many poor persons. Often these objectives are intended to stimulate the aspirations of the poor; but it must be recognized that such efforts are always contested by those who fear and oppose aspirations which they see as endangering their own interests and who therefore prefer that the poor accept the inevitable.

In the past century there have been a number of situations involving impoverished or helpless groups which have been perceived by important segments of the population as threats to the social order of such magnitude that they have touched off substantial reform campaigns. Whether so labeled or not, these became campaigns against poverty. Here we can discuss only a few of the most

important threats and some of the ways in which people have tried to deal with them.

With the fall of the Bastille, came a period of stress, and a sense of threat to the social order swept over Europe. One of the most influential men in Bavaria at that time was a versatile American Tory exile, Sir Benjamin Thompson. He had kept the British informed regarding American movements prior to the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, and then fled to England, where he gained honors. During some dozen years before and during the French Revolution he was the confidant of the King of Bavaria, who obtained for him from the Holy Roman Empire the title by which he is known today in scientific circles—Count Rumford. When he was entrusted with the reorganization of the Bavarian military establishment, Thompson concentrated on the elimination of waste of resources, both manpower and supplies, thereby releasing soldiers not needed for drill or guard duty for civilian work. He provided materials and equipment so that soldiers on duty could have gardens and could produce other items for sale during their spare time. He thus reduced the cost of the establishment at the same time that he made military service more attractive and more socially acceptable. This transformation was well under way when the first disquieting events took place in France.

On January 1, 1790, Thompson, at the head of an assemblage of ministers of state, city officials of Munich, and army officers, personally arrested a beggar and sent him on his way to police headquarters. This was the signal for both civilian and military authorities to launch a campaign. According to Thompson, during that first day some 2,600 beggars were arrested in a city of 60,000. We may imagine the amazement of the beggars when they were not thrown into jail, but were ordered to report to a factory which had been fitted out to manufacture military uniforms. Children and other dependents could be brought along and could work if they were able. All would be fed as well as paid for the work performed.

Those who had no skills were trained and were paid for completed training tasks. Incentives were offered for both quantity and quality of work, and there were opportunities for upward mobility

in the hierarchy of work. Since the army needed uniforms, and there was no other factory in the kingdom, disposition of the product was no problem. Furthermore, Thompson contracted with at least one Italian principality to provide its military uniforms. The factory operated at a profit, while the former beggars became sedate wage-earning factory operatives. As Thompson said, "To make vicious and abandoned people happy, it has generally been supposed necessary to make them virtuous. But why not reverse this order? Why not make them first happy, and then virtuous?"

To make sure that begging was eradicated, and that any occasion for it was eliminated, Thompson introduced a variety of other measures. Police controls were rigid. The charities of the city were reorganized; a district system of supervision of the poor was introduced; medical care and medicine were made readily available; central fund-raising for the agencies was established; and full public accounting for funds was required. To help poor persons conserve their limited funds, Thompson invented a cookstove which required only a fraction of the fuel used by the open fireplace of the day.

If we were to judge Thompson by present-day standards, we might well question many of the details of his program, such as his promotion of child labor, his apparent disregard of formal education for these children, and his reliance on police control. However, given the usual standards of the eighteenth century, the effectiveness of his practical approach was so outstanding that travelers to Munich were still praising Thompson's reforms in the middle of the nineteenth century, two generations later.

It seems reasonable to surmise that Thompson, with memories of tar-and-feather parties which he declined to attend back in Rumford, New Hampshire, might have been fearful of the actions of the beggars of Munich as news of the mob actions in Paris became known among them. Whether or not this was true, we know that fear is an influential emotion, and that many of our most positive social advances have been pushed forward by it.

So far as poverty is concerned, four kinds of threats have been endemic in our country and have inspired recurrent reform efforts, of which the war on poverty is the latest.

First, the idea that a propertyless, uneducated, disfranchised element of the population might receive the vote threatens the ruling class, whatever it may be. In the case of Jacksonian democracy, the propertied Federalists were swamped. The enfranchisement of the Negro in the South was won by military action and then lost through political ineptness. The immigrant newcomer has always been suspect—and has always won the vote in the end.

Second, the competition of cheap labor is a constant threat to an established working class. The poverty-stricken immigrant from other countries; the in-migrant to industrial centers from rural areas; the Negro slave; the single woman or the working wife; and the exploited child, have all been the objects of concern.

Third, there are those people who are thought to flaunt standards set by society by choosing to live in parasitic idleness and squalor. Since Elizabethan days when harsh measures were directed at “rogues and vagabonds” such persons have been regarded as threats to the morale, morals, and accumulated wealth of substantial citizens. Tramps and Gypsies have been distinguished by their ways of life; drunkards and drug addicts, by their habits; beggars, prostitutes, and others, by their behavior. In the nineteenth century there was one comprehensive term—“pauper”—which seldom failed to describe all such chronic dependents.

Finally, when large numbers of persons are forced into idleness and dependency by conditions over which they have little or no control the very stability of the state may appear to be threatened. Physical disabilities, the removal of the breadwinner from his family, and natural disasters contribute to such a situation, but what really makes it serious is a large amount of cyclical and technological unemployment.

Each of these threats has stimulated a variety of responses, and sometimes similar schemes have been advocated to deal with quite different threats. However, most of these proposals can be grouped into several general categories.

First, quarantine-like plans to limit numbers and keep the poor separated from the rest of the community have emerged repeatedly. A frequently expressed attitude has been that the poor person who needs any kind of assistance is an inexcusable economic drain.

Those who have made such assertions generally have been disposed to question any sort of program which attempted to alleviate suffering or to improve the condition of poor people. Such opinions have not proliferated campaigns which could be considered part of a war on poverty. When they have led to action, the outcome generally has involved containment, isolation, or attrition, based on fear that poverty would spread through contagion.

Ever since the days of the Poor Law the effort has been made to isolate dependent people in almshouses. If at times such institutions were thought of as places where humane care could be given, the more prominent view during the nineteenth century was that dependence was to be discouraged by making the conditions of isolation worse than those which the lowest paid worker could provide for himself outside the institution. In England and America there has never been any serious notion that the problem of the poor should be solved by killing them off, but there have been many people who looked complacently on the reduction of the surplus population through war, disease, or natural disaster, and believed that nothing should be done to interfere with age-old controls of survival.

The faulty biological understanding of the late nineteenth century made it possible for stories of such notorious families as the Jukes and the Kallikaks to be used as the basis for a program of attrition in which eugenic measures were to prevent the birth of future generations of poor persons. Sex-segregated institutionalization, prohibition of marriage, and sterilization were measures which received widespread support and found their way into the statute books without ever demonstrating their effectiveness to stem the tide of poverty. Prosperous members of the community have supported rent limitations, residency requirements, and racial boundaries in order to keep the extent of poverty out of sight.

Second, by contrast with these negative, restrictive, punitive approaches, most of the programs which we might identify as forerunners of the war on poverty were based on the view that individuals were economic and social resources which needed to be conserved and protected just as carefully as physical resources. The corollary of this point was that the poor person was not able to

perform as effectively as someone who was not poor. From this it followed that some action was necessary by society to develop these latent community assets.

The poor person himself might be changed so that he would no longer have to be poor. By building up his strengths and minimizing his liabilities, the industrial economy might use him. The outstanding illustration of this is the whole range of educational opportunities made available in this country through a succession of campaigns stretching out well over a hundred years. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the idea that every citizen should possess the three *R*'s was introduced, but often discounted as visionary and impossible of attainment. In the succeeding quarter century, the movement for free public education was contested with almost as much vehemence as that for the abolition of slavery, and with essentially the same arguments on both sides as are currently being hurled back and forth in the contest over medical care for the aged through social security. Between the Civil War and the Second World War this program of education was being extended in three major ways: through the steady increase in the period of compulsory education; through the upward extension of free public education, first to secondary schools and then to the university level; and through the introduction of a range of vocational educational opportunities both for rural and urban dwellers.

The universality of the public educational program which finally eventuated sets it apart from other measures, but efforts in this direction were paralleled by those in the health field. The provision of medical care for poor people through dispensaries and hospitals had been recognized as far back as Benjamin Franklin's time as a means of conserving the resources of the community. Before the Civil War the New York Association to Improve the Condition of the Poor (AICP) was vigorously campaigning for a sanitary water supply, pure milk, and other public health measures. The extension of this concept to restoration through physical and vocational rehabilitation is something which many of us have witnessed within our own times.

Another kind of effort to transform disadvantaged groups into social assets has sought to change the cultural values of the poor

person so that he would want to escape from his poverty. Characteristic of this type of approach is the Americanization movement of the early twentieth century, the exact opposite of containment. Here were vast numbers of people, born in other countries, who spoke languages other than English and so were largely confined to an exchange of ideas with persons with backgrounds similar to their own. They frequently had come from poverty-stricken homes, and it was difficult for them to break out of these patterns. By teaching these people English and by introducing them to American ways of life, it was hoped that they would become identified with American cultural aspirations, including that of "rags to riches." One of the striking things about the concentration of poverty in our Negro population today is the extent to which the cultural values of many Negroes and their aspirations appear to differ from those of the affluent white society.

Another general approach to the problem of transforming the poor into economic resources has been the attempt to change behavior in the misguided idea that an individual's poverty is caused by the way he acts. Social workers are alert to the fallacies of this point of view, but many others have not been sufficiently aware of basic motivations to see its weakness. Sometimes exhortation has been tried, such as the "advice" to be given by the so-called "visitors to the poor" in the early days of the AICP's and the Charity Organization Societies (COS).

More often, efforts to change behavior have depended on some form of social control. "There ought to be a law!" Back in 1818 John Griscom, in analyzing the causes of poverty, listed "intemperance in drinking" near the head of his list and recommended a stricter regulation of taverns. Increasingly the idea that all intoxicating beverages should be done away with took hold, and, a century after Griscom, prohibition was put into effect, with many social workers and their associates among the ardent advocates of the measure.

While legal control or prohibition has had as its objective the changing of the behavior of the individual, frequently this has been accomplished indirectly by limiting the freedom of action of other people in society. Thus, in order to control the drinking of liquor,

the prohibition was placed upon its sale. Before Negroes could begin to develop their potentialities, other people had to be required not to hold them as slaves.

Implicit in all these measures for the development of the individual as an economic resource has been the idea that there would be a means of utilizing the result. A third type of campaign, therefore, was aimed at redirecting arrangements in society so that the poor person could be absorbed. Some of the least effective were those which tried to stem economic and technological changes. Prohibiting the use of sewing machines in order to utilize trained seamstresses in Boston, passing a city ordinance in Baltimore to require hand-crushed stone in city roads, and attempting to dictate the rate at which electricity would replace gas lighting all failed to help the poor in the long run and only emphasized their feelings of uselessness and detachment from community life.

In America the traditional way of creating outlets for human abilities was through self-employment in agriculture, the crafts, or business. As cities grew and men came to work for other men, uncertainties became more numerous, and a major measure for combating poverty was found in the provision of land at very low cost. Jacksonian campaigns to open the wilderness and the later Homestead Acts were seen as ways of liberating the poor. For the individual, these were often combined with "cheap money" loan schemes to provide the needed capital for relocation. Such backing by monied interests helped make certain that society would utilize latent talents. As free arable land was exhausted it became necessary to provide new ways to make full use of human resources—public works, dams, highways, public buildings. Many of these were relatively small in scope, but what turned out to be, superficially at least, the most successful antipoverty campaign of all American history was the industrial and military build-up for the Second World War, which changed a depression economy into a labor shortage economy in only two years.

Oppressive conditions among the poor have been ameliorated through social control methods, such as housing and public health regulations, minimum hours, and wartime price controls. Civil service laws ensured equal access to governmental positions.

Making facilities available to all, thereby reducing the deprivations of poverty, has resulted in shifts of activities from the private to the public sector of the economy. For instance, education, the care of the mentally ill, low-cost housing, parks and playgrounds, libraries, all of which were once private enterprises for the few, have, as a result of many concerted efforts, become largely public facilities.

Even where every effort was being made to utilize the potentials of individuals through normal economic channels, there were always some people at any given time so extremely ill-suited to normal employment that special measures had to be taken to help them. The old, the young, and the physically handicapped were usually incapable of filling available jobs or might be barred for social reasons. The mentally ill, the mentally retarded, and other persons who for one reason or another were not equipped with marketable skills often were excluded from employment.

The Elizabethan Poor Law, which was part of a concerted effort to meet problems of the poor, authorized bringing together the aged and the handicapped in almshouses and providing work for the jobless able-bodied. In the nineteenth century increased emphasis on the use of the almshouse led to its differentiation into specialized institutions for the various kinds of handicapped. For those who were able to care for themselves, the undesirability of institutional care became more and more self-evident, and a variety of assistance programs developed, usually on a categorical basis. To many people, this meant that the poor were receiving something for nothing, which in turn led to sporadic efforts to apply work tests and work relief requirements. In a work test, the applicant was required to perform a certain minimum amount of physical labor as a demonstration of his willingness to work if a job were available. However, the amount of work performed had no direct relationship to the amount of assistance given. In work relief plans, on the other hand, the applicant was permitted to work enough to earn the amount of relief which was called for according to budgetary standards. All these approaches tended to revert to the concept that individuals who are unable to support themselves are drains upon the economy.

Most distressing to those who resented being asked to help support the poor were the many beggars. Despite the antiquity of this form of sharing the wealth, and the success of Thompson's anti-begging program in Munich, it was a constant irritation throughout the nineteenth century. Mild antibegging efforts by Societies for the Prevention of Pauperism in the third decade were followed by more energetic measures by the AICP at the middle, and by strident campaigns by the COS at the end of the century. Nevertheless, Gypsies, tramps, hoboes, and beggars continued to be found in great numbers until a different basic approach was applied.

As early as 1890 Edward Everett Hale was advocating what he called "universal life endowments," and during the next forty years increasing attention was paid to formulating and promoting measures based on the premise that individuals are economic and social assets. After decades of unremitting but seemingly unrewarding work, enactment of the Social Security Act brought substantial advance in two directions. The insurance programs, both for unemployment and for retirement, implied that the worth of the individual was something which could be insured against calamity or retired from active service through accumulation of depreciation reserves as is done with physical equipment. At the same time, the service programs—child welfare and the like—sought to conserve and develop potential resources which, if left untended, might be adversely affected by circumstances.

Characteristic attacks on poverty in response to various threats have thus included: (1) quarantine of the poor from community life; (2) development of individual abilities and attitudes in order to promote social participation in the community; (3) sweeping rearrangements of social, economic, and political facilities to create opportunity to use every available person, including the poor; and (4) outright acceptance that many of the poor will be nonproductive responsibilities and will have to receive some form of financial assistance.

Many of these attacks proved unsuccessful because of limited scope or lack of support. Most of us recall educational systems struggling with problems of inadequate finances, of tired, unin-

spired teachers, of recalcitrant, unyielding students. In spite of all the fine things that have come out of education, we sometimes wonder if it is really the answer. Almost surely, education will not win the future war on poverty by itself, but there was one place and time where broad, interlocking programs for human development accomplished remarkable things.

It was a century after the time of Benjamin Thompson and his use of police power in his campaign against begging in Munich when the hills and forests of northern Minnesota became the scene of feverish mining activity. The fabulously rich ores of the iron ranges were extracted by free workmen accustomed to hard labor. Judging by contemporary standards the wages were not bad, but the work was seasonal and irregular, working and living conditions far from ideal, and opportunities for advancement rare. In this situation the workers had one extraordinary advantage which the beggars of Munich did not have—the power of municipal self-government. The principal taxpayers were the mining companies which employed the men. Occasionally, the companies registered objections to what they considered excessive taxation, but for the most part they supported the municipal programs of the towns.

How it started is not clear, but very soon, throughout the Range, towns were carrying on a concerted campaign to ensure that the next generation would not have to suffer the dangers and privations of their elders. This campaign focused on education. Facilities rivaled those of the great urban centers; programs were in the vanguard of the new educational philosophy which was to sweep the country in succeeding decades; teachers were recruited from the great Eastern and Middle-Western colleges and universities. Children from deprived, isolated mining villages, were transported by bus (that is how the Greyhound Bus Lines got started) to the towns where the good schools were located. Parents, many illiterate and nearly all speaking languages other than English, took part in their own and their children's education. Such a concerted effort gave the students a sense of the great adventure of learning, so that in a day when a college education was still reserved for the minority, a majority of the high school graduates from the Iron Range went

on to college, many of them distinguishing themselves in the arts, sciences, and professions and returning to the Range to participate in the further enrichment of the region of their childhood.

Four major factors determined the success of this effort:

1. Education was seen as a dynamic, flexible service which could take a wide variety of conventional and unconventional forms. The concept was broad and visionary.

2. In facilities and equipment, and especially in personnel, emphasis was laid on quality.

3. The opportunities created were made available to all.

4. There was never any lack of adequate financial support. Inasmuch as the funds came primarily from local taxation on mining lands, this may suggest that the problem of financing can always be solved locally. I would counter that this aspect should be examined more closely, to see if there may not have been some unusual economic processes involved which made taxation less of a competitive threat to the parent steel companies than it usually would be and that, in fact, the passing on of this cost to the purchasers of steel, a basic product needed throughout the economy, was not unlike a present-day use of the Federal taxing power to secure nationwide support for local projects.

In this respect, circumstances on the Iron Range and in Munich a century before had much in common, for the employment which transformed the beggars into factory employees was a public service, paid for out of the general treasury, albeit in the form of wages rather than as a dole. In both places, the funds available were adequate to the purpose, there was no uncertainty over whether or not it would be possible to keep the program going, and undoubtedly a factor in the success was that the force of government could be put behind the project.

Like many efforts to forestall the most deteriorating aspects of dire poverty, the current war on poverty has been prompted by characteristic fears: of social control by a poorly educated, socially unstable section of the population which is gaining the vote and possesses a powerful weapon in minority control of the balance of power; of surplus labor in areas where the workers have only recently gained a decent livelihood after long years of struggle; of

lowering living standards and loosening moral behavior if the poor are permitted free participation in the good things of society; of increasing numbers falling into dependency as demographic and technological changes create new balances between workers and nonworkers.

If society responds in panic, history indicates that we can anticipate many heightened pressures to isolate and punish the poor and to prevent any efforts to draw them into the social structure or reduce their burdens. Many programs will be proposed for educating the young and reeducating the industrially obsolete, for creating motivation for change, for correcting physical and emotional handicaps. One danger will be that such plans will be partial, poorly equipped, and offered only to a few of the most promising candidates, although we know that programs which have proved most effective over the years were generously supported and offered full access to any who chose to make use of the facility. Much experimentation will be needed to find methods of motivating the disinterested.

Care must be taken that outlets for the use of the human resources so developed keep pace. For example, while much stress is now being placed on reducing the number of high school dropouts, our employment services are already crammed with high school graduates who have been unable to find a niche in the industrial world. Bitterness and rebellion can result if we motivate people and develop their skills but the economy has no use for them.

Although adequate financial help for the economically ineffective has been preached since 1850, it has never been sincerely tried. Completely new arrangements, such as a minimum family wage, may have to be devised. Social controls which enforce standards of cleanliness, occupancy rates in housing, sanitation, safety, and protection of the helpless from exploitation may be required.

This somewhat impressionistic historical review of past campaigns against poverty indicates that as we develop our points of view on present and future proposals we need to keep in mind two things. First, we need to understand what the objective of the proposals are and how they relate to other objectives and to the objectives which we as social workers have established for ourselves. Will

the individual, in fact, be helped to achieve his full potential? Will the proposed programs, like the Land Grant colleges established under the Morrill Act, be able to adapt to meet the needs of the times, or will they become, like the outmoded school for orphans set up in Philadelphia by the ironbound legacy of Stephen Girard, a monument to past needs? If we are considering the use of controls, will the net effect of the controls be to shape society for the benefit of the individual, as has generally been true of wage-and-hour legislation, or will it be to force the individual into a pattern prescribed by society, as was attempted in the case of the prohibition of alcoholic beverages? As we attempt to deal with the misfits of our society, will we have the imagination to help them find rewarding outlets which will make life a satisfaction rather than a frustration, even if they have to be subsidized? Will we be able to convey to the public at large that these outlets, these satisfactions for the misfits, have value?

Second, while we are looking at objectives we need also to look at the means which are to be used to be sure, not only that they are appropriate, but that they are adequate to the magnitude and the duration of the situation and of a quality which will ensure good results.

Automation—Implications for Policy and Practice in Social Welfare

by NORMAN V. LOURI

WE SHALL CONSIDER HERE the impact of automation on our society, on policies of social welfare, and, at the same time, assess how social welfare can contribute to constructive social change. While automation—the new technology which replaces man by machines—is certainly not the single villain in the etiology of poverty, it can, if not dealt with appropriately, become a new and major poverty-creating force. Indeed, it has already had marked effects.

The field of social welfare comprises all the health and welfare activities which depend on citizen financing through taxes and contributions. It is a major industry—a humanitarian industry. It has various operational units with different degrees of interdependence. Many products are turned out. Many professions and occupations are employed. As automation compresses the manpower needs in other industries and population increases, the social welfare industry will expand tremendously.

Without social change social welfare would not have developed as it did. Future change has great significance for us. We can either let it happen or take a role in making it happen on behalf of mankind. Automation as much as any force has emphasized the need for constructive use of man's total personality for survival. Technology has given mankind the capacity to destroy the human race. Beset as man is by the acute problems of automation, overpopulation, racial conflict, persistent poverty, he faces the urgent necessity of finding new bases of survival. Social welfare, therefore, faces a solemn task in assessing its role in an automated world.

Automation is revolutionizing industry. Change in industrial patterns has caused the dwindling of small business and diminished opportunities for the individual entrepreneur. Production and distribution systems require relatively fewer but more highly skilled workers. The proportion of unskilled workers in the labor force has dropped in little more than a generation from one in five to one in twenty.

It is estimated that 48 percent of the population will produce all that is necessary to support every aspect of the economy. This includes services required by the older and younger people who are productive.

Agriculture needs fewer workers. It is expected that two thirds of rural youth will have to find employment in cities.

Automation and its technological developments make traditional jobs obsolete much faster than new jobs are created. Originally affecting the factory or production worker, automation has now begun to displace the blue-collar and the white-collar worker.

Entry jobs, usually filled by the inexperienced, are disappearing, it is said, at a frightening rate.

From 1960 to 1970, 26 million youths will enter the labor market. Many will lack marketable skills. Though this group (aged sixteen through twenty-one years) is only one tenth of the labor force, it constitutes one fourth of the unemployed.

As the tempo of this new industrial revolution increases, the results will be incongruous. Undoubtedly, man is being relieved of much of the drudgery he has had to perform. Yet—and we in social welfare must consider this—unemployment and underemployment from automation are contributing to personal and social disorganization.

The challenge has been stated many times. How can the new machines be used to benefit mankind and preserve human values? The alternative is that automation will cause increased suffering, and even destruction, for much of our population.

While poverty is not primarily caused by change, it is inextricably related to automation. The problem of poverty actually has lessened during the twentieth century. Our higher standard of living has decreased the number of poverty-stricken people. If we were

to ignore our new ideas of what represents adequate living we could say that the objective conditions of the poor have improved.

If present social welfare programs continued, they probably would diminish certain aspects of the poverty problem. Additional social insurance benefits, for instance, would reduce the number of those who need public assistance.

Poverty in the midst of affluence afflicts 20 percent, or more, of our population, depending on which economic indices we favor. Particularly affected are nonwhite families, families headed by a female, those over sixty-five years of age, farm families, and families in which the adults have less than eight years of education. If a family has two or more of these characteristics, the probability of poverty is overwhelming.

The particular plight of the Negro and other nonwhite populations must be met as it relates to job opportunity, education, and conditioning for employment. It has been said that the Negro baby born today has about half as much chance of becoming employed as a white person, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 per year, a life expectancy which is seven years lower than that of a white person, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

The onrush of social change, therefore, together with continued population growth, automation, and its resulting demand for new and higher skills, will place more and more people in economic social jeopardy. Relative poverty will increase unless, of course, we learn how to cope in some more fundamental ways than heretofore.

There are a number of questions which social welfare might ask about the effects of automation—how these effects relate to policy and practice and how the new technological revolution will force us to reshape the tasks ahead. Let us consider a few of them.

Many creative approaches to training and employment are under way, but these do not seem to be making a vital impact. Social welfare has been supporting these programs and cooperating with them. One basic approach is to bring industry into depressed areas. Socially, this is not always sound. In depressed areas teen-agers and homemakers often become the primary family breadwinners. There is a reversal of roles. Should social welfare intervene and attempt

to change the approach to one which maintains a more normal and natural family pattern? This might involve planned moving of families, and particularly young people for whom local opportunities are limited.

Further, many training programs do not result in employment. Persons are trained and retrained, adding to their frustration. Carefully conceived public works have been said to constitute one of the important immediate solutions. This should be of higher priority for us. We should more vigorously support policies that will lead to a permanent public works program that is allied with education for employment. No war on poverty can succeed if men cannot have jobs. Education without public works, and public works without skilled training, is unsound.

We should propose total area reconstructions of the TVA type, with abandonment of some communities or different approaches to remaking communities for other than industrial purposes. This will require a kind of planning not yet accepted in this country except for military purposes.

Major changes in education, both in emphasis and in system, will be required to meet automated conditions. Educational leadership may shift—may have to change—from primarily a local to a Federal base. This will have even greater repercussions than some of the Federal-state, state-local, and public-voluntary confusions in the social welfare field.

Up to now the educational system has not met the needs of welfare clients and others who face unequal opportunities, underemployment. How much of a role should we give public welfare in remedial education? Federal monies have been made available to public welfare agencies for literacy training. Is this a sound pattern to follow?

Should social welfare be in the employment field?

Programs designed to increase employment for welfare clients have not been effective. With Federal approval some public welfare agencies have moved into this field. While "community work and training" is an impressive term, it still means a form of work relief. It would be sounder from an administrative and professional standpoint to have the employment, rehabilitation, and edu-

cation agencies do this job. Further, it would safeguard citizens whose dignity has already been violated, from further pauperization and disenfranchisement because of normal community patterns. If we assume that social insurance programs will be broadened to include health care and that the benefits will be brought up to a decent level, should we also consider expanding the insurance to protect fully against unemployment? When we project the substantial numbers for whom social insurance will provide the primary economic maintenance, perhaps we should think of building provisions for social, retraining, and rehabilitative services into that system. This would eliminate separate and cumbersome administrative units with overlapping functions and myriad Federal money streams. It could also serve to conserve scarce manpower.

Should such a program, like the maintenance and health provisions, be supported by employer and employee contributions? Or should it be partially government-financed?

Our present unemployment compensation system is incomplete. All unemployment should be an insurable risk. In fact, we must seek ways of fully insuring the risks of automation. Our unemployment compensation systems have arbitrary and often unreasonable cut-off points which send citizens to the means-test programs which tend to create dependency. Such an approach would lead our existing systems of public welfare toward operating as problem-solvers rather than as palliatives.

Social workers and others in the social welfare industry have not given much consideration to taxation. As our industry grows, because the only avenues for employment expansion in an automated society will be in the human services fields, we shall have to become concerned with sources and methods of taxation. For instance, if increased productivity means more wealth but fewer employees to tax, should the producer be especially taxed in some relationship to the displacement it causes? A corollary might mean giving more study to tax concessions for low-income groups. This could have substantial implications for income, real estate, and sales taxes. Social workers should begin to consider how much increase in this, that, or the other tax would be necessary to meet the costs of new or expanded programs.

Although it is not within the professional sphere of the social worker, he should become familiar with the implications of tax advantages to industry for automating and producing more goods. He should have an opinion on the relationship of encouraging productivity as against stemming the outflow to prevent the loss of jobs. Perhaps these are not mutually exclusive. Public welfare has supported social insurance, public assistance, and unemployment compensation programs. Are there other methods of economic maintenance that we should support more vigorously than we have? We abhor the means test. We are aware of the alternatives, but up until now we have done very little to advance the cause of family allowances, guaranteed minimum incomes, and such proposals as the "negative income tax."

As we struggle to arrive at policy positions in respect to mechanisms for economic maintenance we might well ask some fundamental questions that automation thrusts upon us. With a small percentage of the population filling the consumption demands of the future, does our view of life itself need to be reordered? For instance, does all employment need to be productive in the economic sense in order to be considered socially useful? On what basis should social benefits be computed? Should it be cost of living? Family needs? Earning capacity? In today's market these questions might seem easy to answer. But by the 1990s, if we use the present guide lines, there will be only a small number of employees to support the social security system. This will require some difficult policy reappraisals. Many anachronisms now exist. While they are convinced that welfare programs should be supportive rather than dependency-oriented, most of our public programs and their legislative bases are rooted in dependency concepts. We shall need to analyze, understand, and then develop strategy to deal with forces and circumstances that work against the changes that must be made. These forces exist within the social work profession and the social welfare field as well as in the general community.

The questions raised here obviously are not all that might be asked, but they are enough for us to visualize the size of the task. Most of the questions relate to the possibility that the profession might move into related areas beyond the limits of present opera-

tions. We must also ask ourselves some more personal and perhaps equally vital questions about ourselves. Are we ready to take on additional responsibility and extend our objectives? Before we can answer these questions and develop new approaches to the problems caused by automation, we need to do some soul searching. We need to set our own house in order before we assume further responsibilities. For example, we produce more trained people, their presence will increase the demand for services. This also enlarges the number of nonprofessionals that are needed and used.

Although management units in the industry are traditionally professional, more and more managers come from the nonprofessional group. The largest number of practitioners are nonprofessionals. The profession of social work is grappling with this issue. It must arrive at clear definitions of the relationships and roles of the various occupational groups in the industry. The Joint Commission on Illness and Mental Health made it very clear that the traditional professions could not meet the production and consumption demand. Indeed, the report recommended widespread use of paraprofessionals to carry out some of the tasks. The National Association of Social Workers (NASW), the American Public Welfare Association, the Welfare Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Council on Social Work Education, and other organizations are deep in studies of the manpower problem.

Vigorous steps are being taken by the social work profession, by government, and by many agencies to make up deficits in training, to increase the number of social workers, and to examine functions of personnel so that there can be a more appropriate delegation of responsibility to the various occupational groups in our industry. Perhaps we will even need to develop new occupational groups.

Assignment of responsibility is not an easy task. For instance, there is a lack of uniform definitions of problems to account for the broad spectrum of disorders dealt with by the various units in the social welfare system. Diagnosis, treatment planning, service coordination, and data for evaluation and accountability are subject to different definitions from time to time and from place to place.

From an individual agency's point of view this may not seem im-

portant. But to achieve dynamic and flexible application and assignment of manpower, consistency becomes important, particularly if we want to span the gap between the single agency and a community plan.

Inherent, too, is the difficulty that confronts us as we try to coordinate efforts of a variety of services and programs which deal with psychological disorders. To achieve a good purpose here requires a reasonably stable framework for problem-criteria diagnosis, treatment planning, and evaluation.

Financed by the Ford Foundation, the NASW is seeking to define social work's contribution to the solution of social problems. This effort grew from the desire of the profession to concentrate on prevention rather than amelioration. Other professional groups are also pursuing epidemiological research which has promise for tackling the scope issue.

A word on planning. We will not contribute constructively to change unless we get about the business of planning in a more realistic way. There is urgency that we move vigorously to coordinate and integrate multiprofessional, economic, social welfare, health, mental health, and political elements. We shall be pressed to do so by the citizen and his representative. The mounting costs cannot be defended unless we combat the fragmentation, overlapping, duplication, and sometimes ineffectiveness.

There has never been such a demanding time for social work. We must meet the future as creatively and respond as quickly as other industries—transportation, agriculture, housing, and city planning. We need new forms of distribution, utilization of personnel and resources, new delivery systems, new ways of private and governmental cooperation, new approaches to financing.

The nation has embarked on a mission to eradicate poverty. Automation will increase poverty unless we make certain that this is a war, not a skirmish, and not a subject for political altercation. It would seem that we should apply the same unity of political purpose to this war as we have to other national emergencies. The Federal departments, the universities, the professions, the agencies, hospitals, industry, labor, and the public must contribute imagina-

tive leadership and new patterns of cooperation adapted to the automated needs and conditions of present-day American society.

It is important that our professions engage in a comprehensive and well-defined study of social welfare systems. It is possible that such activities as the present comprehensive mental health and retardation studies, our approach to develop models for understanding social problems, and the national commitment to eliminate poverty will result in information to guide us in our future course—that is, if we can break the bonds of tradition and come up with creative, public-interest-centered approaches. If we do not, I predict that other occupations and professions will create them for us.

Several hazards are present. We have a tendency to carry on activity in the name of planning which is not actually planning. It is often educational, informative, communicative—but not planning.

There is a great deal of knowledge which is not put to work—vast gaps between the extent of knowledge and its use. We must learn to use the values of automation to close that gap as well as to face the policy changes and pass them. There is great outcry about the need for public services. Yet professions too often shy from public employment. There are many good reasons for this. These need study, and our professions must take part in the political process if we are to correct conditions which make public service undesirable. We are eager to see public funds spent in our work. But we do not always, with good grace and full cooperation, accept the fact that the size of the problem requires a major governmental role in planning.

One final comment. To date, the most thoroughly exploited use of automation is our ability to destroy the human race. We have the capacity to do so. We shall, unless we find the bases, sound ones, for survival. For the social welfare field, the social work profession, this is a major element in the great urgency that automated social change has conferred upon us. Indeed, it may be the most important.

If we are experts in understanding man and what motivates his behavior, part of our task is clear. The attitudes and means that have brought this generation to its uncomplimentary state must be changed. The next generation must be freed from them. There is real urgency to correct our own practices, methods, systems, and

planning strategies, but our potential role as change agents in the interest of human survival takes precedence. Indeed, we must serve the latter purpose to safeguard our right to perform the former.

In our traditional role we relieved suffering. We helped to accommodate people to circumstances that social change produced. The most significant recent social change consequence—the revolution of the underprivileged—teaches us that we may have reached the limit of our abilities to use our skills in accommodating people to deprivation. More important, it should teach us to question the desirability of such a role. Perhaps we must, in addition to promoting a war, join the revolution.

Technological change created us and gave us a role. Automation merely speeds up things. We did not consistently serve in order to initiate social change. Social work and the social welfare field did arise out of reform impulses. In the early days of the National Conference, in the days of Jane Addams, and in the depression of the 1930s, there was a spark. We gave leadership to produce social change. Then the embers cooled.

The torch is lit again. Carrying it as a symbol will not be enough. Sacred institutions, policies, laws, traditions, and organizational arrangements will have to be changed. Wider and different responsibilities are called for. We must do for people a great deal that is yet undone. Above all, we must use our knowledge, skill, and convictions to help the world to live in peace. Otherwise, automation will overwhelm us. We shall have no resources to combat poverty and other social problems. Indeed, we shall all be poverty-stricken and automated out of existence.

What we have done well will stand. What knowledge we have will be useful. It is new tasks that we must make possible. Let us seek the wisdom and the strength to absorb them as an urgent part of our mission.

The Strengths of the Poor

by FRANK RIESSMAN

INvariably, WHEN THE STRENGTHS of the poor are mentioned, an immediate image springs to mind. The image is that of the "noble savage"—uninhibited, enjoying nature, unfettered by the responsibilities of middle-class life. People respond to this image in two diametrically opposed ways, both of which are harmful to a serious understanding of the meaning and significance of the positive qualities emerging from a struggle with poverty. On the one hand are the romantic supporters of the supposedly impulsive poor. Their view is typically contaminated by pervasive anti-middle-class sentiments and invidious class comparisons calculated to enhance the qualities of the have-nots. This admiration of the poor is rooted, not in the struggles of the disadvantaged themselves, but rather in their removal from the disreputable elements of middle-class life whether these be inhibitions, competitiveness, disloyalty, pretentiousness, boredom, or whatever.

Those who oppose this view ridicule the "positives of the poor," and can see no meaning in the concept other than the noble-savage interpretation. Recognizing that the poor are not uninhibited, do experience serious strains, and want no part of poverty, this view can only hold that an emphasis on the strengths of the poor is sentimental drivel and naïvely anti-middle-class.

I would argue, however, that both these viewpoints painfully miss the point. The noble-savage frame of reference is misleading and harmful to the poor and actually represents a misplaced argument about the pros and cons of middle-class life rather than a central concern for the deprived. Moreover, the current antipoverty trends aiming at helping the poor through encouraging social action by the poor on their own behalf (self-help, so to speak) must

consider the positives of the poor or else face an enormous contradiction in their thesis.

There is little doubt that the antipoverty crusade, in its search for financial support finds it functional to accent the ravages of poverty rather than the strengths of the poor. But that section of the poverty movement which calls for social action and community organization by the poor in its own behalf (such as the Mobilization for Youth and similar projects) is faced by a major dilemma if it simply stresses the plight of the poor. Because if the have-nots have nothing—no culture, no strength, no anger, no organization, no cooperativeness, no inventiveness, no vitality—if they are only depressed, apathetic, fatalistic, and pathological, then where is the force for the social action and self-help to come from?

Of course, if we believe that help for the poor is to come only from the outside, from above, to be patronizingly doled out, then we can stress only the great needs of the poor and request moneys to meet these needs. One wonders, however, whether there will be a sufficiently propelling force to win the enormous programs required, including gigantic public works, if the poor themselves are not deeply involved in generating these demands.

I do not mean to suggest that the poor spontaneously and without alignment with other groups and forces in the society are going to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps and produce Negro revolutions, poverty movements, and revolutions in education and social service. These "revolutions" are a possibility and in some measure are in progress because of a combination of forces and groups.¹ But without pressure from the poor—the people themselves—these "revolutions" may, as is threatened in the civil rights movement, remain watered down and unfulfilled. For them to come to fruition, the strength of the poor must be transformed into the *power* of the poor.

¹ At least five major factors propel the poverty movement: the powerful challenges being raised by both wings of the Negro movement (the integrationists and the nationalists); stagnation in economic growth, unemployment, the prospect of automation, and the increasing failure of military expenditures to buoy up the economy; the continued migration of the poor to the cities; the Supreme Court decision regarding reapportionment of governmental representation and its significance for urban-rural power distribution; the considerable interest of the Administration in one of its main sources of power, namely, the urban vote.

The strengths of the poor arise out of their efforts at coping with an essentially negative environment. These efforts may in some cases lead to new difficulties, but it is important to view the behavior in terms of what the disadvantaged are trying to do rather than to place, typically, one-sided emphasis on their failures and pathology. Nor should these efforts be compared to standard middle-class behavior as though the latter were likely alternatives for the poor.

For example, let us reexamine the so-called "broken" family or, more accurately, the female-based extended family structure, that presumably produces child neglect, disorganization, lack of male identification figures for the boys, and so forth. If we look at the situation carefully we see that economics and related historical factors have produced a condition in which job stability and security have been far less available for the Negro male than for the female. This threatens the traditional patriarchal family pattern. If nothing were done in face of this threat, disorganization, anarchy, and the disintegration of family life would eventuate. But among the Negro poor a new family pattern evolved, namely, the female-based, extended family structure where the mother, grandmother, aunts, and other members of the larger family band together to share the responsibilities of home management, child-rearing, earning a living. Actually this family frequently evidences considerable interdependence, organization, and stability. But it also has many constant strains and pressures, and sometimes these pressures produce pathology (drug addiction, violence, delinquency, and the like). Most likely this pathology erupts when the coping efforts embodied in the normative family pattern are not operative—when the family is really smashed.

The extended matriarchal family represents an important asset of the Negro poor. This is not to say that this is a "good" family pattern, one to be striven for in the long development of history. Quite the reverse: as poverty disappears this family form will undoubtedly be replaced by more patriarchal and equalitarian structures. But this should not prevent us from seeing that under special undesirable environmental conditions, the female-led, extended family is a powerful device for dealing with the problems of the poor.

Poverty produces uneven effects. In part, it produces apathy and pathology. In part, it produces strengths, some of which are glamorized and idealized by anti-middle-class proponents of the noble savage myth. The strengths themselves are uneven and complex; often they are the reverse side of weaknesses. Thus the positive features found in the peer culture and the greater sibling interaction may arise from the limited time that the parents can spend with their children in large families; the greater freedom from intellectualization may stem from less access to intellectual occupations; the less prestige-centered, competitive individualistic ethos may be derived from removal from the more individualistic professional occupations and preparatory educational structures; the proclivity for independence and self-education (noted by some Montessorians) and the maturity of the children may be related to the fact that the poor are less educated by parents and teachers and hence forced to develop their own resources at an early age; the greater receptivity to therapeutic techniques based on suggestion and authority is probably the other side of their more authoritarian training and traditionalistic world view.

Some of these strengths reflect the fragment of truth in the noble savage argument. Because it is, in part, true that being deprived of the basic goods of middle-class life also carries with it "deprivation" from some negative aspects of this life, as, for example, the "rat race."

Comparison with the middle class is dangerous because the poor and the middle class face different problems and a middle-class yardstick generally should not be employed in appraising the characteristics of the disadvantaged. But in analyzing the origins of the strengths of the poor it is necessary to recognize that one of the sources is removal from some of the more harmful conditions of the life of the "haves." This argument only becomes spurious if one then attempts an over-all comparison of the classes.

The positives of the poor are not to be viewed in an abstract idealistic fashion as though they represented some ultimate qualities to be aspired to by man. To repeat, frequently their strengths are partial, interwoven with weaknesses, transitory reflections of the situation of the poor.

There are a number of other sources for the strength of the poor which need only be mentioned.

1. The minority poor (Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican) often preserve their ethnic traditions more fully than their richer brethren, who often shed their old cultural ways as they adapt to American middle-class life. Thus whatever strengths there are in the ethnic tradition probably remain with the poor.

2. Quite apart from any coping efforts or removal from middle-class conditions, the actual life of the poor is formative of personality, style, and custom, aspects of which may have positive features. It is possible that a particular creative potential of the poor, namely the physical, visual pattern, is probably related to their work life and child rearing experiences.

3. Traditions of various groups of the poor often contain elements contributing to their strength. Negro history is important in this context as is Puerto Rican and Spanish tradition. The rural traditions of the poor might also be looked at in other ways than as nonpreparation for urban life.

There are a great many positive dimensions of the culture and style of the poor which I have discussed more fully elsewhere: the cooperativeness and mutual aid that mark the extended family; the avoidance of the strain accompanying competitiveness and individualism; the equalitarianism, informality, and humor; the freedom from self-blame and parental overprotection; the children's enjoyment of each other's company and lessened sibling rivalry; the security found in the extended family and a traditional outlook; the enjoyment of music, games, sports, and cards; the ability to express anger; the freedom from being word-bound; and finally the physical style involved in learning.²

It is probably no accident that the Black Muslim Movement has had considerable appeal for the Negro poor, despite the fact that many dimensions of its program and psychology are deeply alien to Negro traditions. Its success, however, is rooted in its call to Negro pride, to a stress on the dignity of black people. It suggests that there is enormous moral integrity in a people who have not

² Frank Riessman, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

been guilty of enslaving others, and further that whatever is wrong, pathological, or evil in the black man has been imposed from without and is not intrinsic to his character, culture, or make-up. It says, instead, that what is internal to the people is strong, moral, and decent.

Regardless of whether or not this represents an overstatement, it nonetheless provides a significant model for the architects of the antipoverty movement to consider because it supplies a novel, action-attuned formulation of the relationship of assets and liabilities in a have-not population.

In the field of education, the tradition of providing training aimed toward preparing teachers for the school in general rather than for specific groups of pupils is undergoing serious reconsideration. The Hunter College program, for example, oriented toward preparing student teachers to work in specific low-income neighborhoods, is rapidly winning adherents and imitation throughout urban centers. Traditional training, supposedly geared for all schools, is in reality modeled toward middle-class schools and needs.

Social work training was probably always based on consideration of the poor, but unfortunately it has not been well attuned to the culture and style strengths of the poor, particularly the new urban poor that is largely Negro or Spanish-speaking. Moreover, much of social work has been heavily influenced by casework approaches which, in turn, have been dominated by individualistic, psychodynamic orientations that have not been especially congenial or successful with low-income people. Nor have group work approaches been modeled after the needs and styles of low-income culture and its group traditions (too much settlement house control, folk singing, square dancing, and pseudo informality).³ Training in community organization also suffers from emphases which are not attuned to the problems of low-income groups. The accent has typically been on formal rather than informal organization. Little, if any, attention is given to problems related to the development of power and organization in the informal groups so characteristic of low-income communities.

It is most striking that role playing, which appears to be well

³ See Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

attuned to the style and needs of low-income people, has had little influence in social work. Moreover, of the thirty-six types of psychotherapy listed by Robert Harper,⁴ we would be hard pressed to find more than three or four represented in the casework programs of all the social work schools in the United States. Practically all these schools stress almost exclusively some variant of psychodynamic theory (Freud, Rank, Alexander) or a Rogerian nondirective approach. There is hardly any interest in hypnosis, directive techniques, conditioning approaches, or any of the approaches that might be congenial to low-income groups.

Field experience in social work, where it has touched the poor in relation to welfare and the like, remains in the traditional mold of office, desk, interview, and quiet, accepting conversation. For all its historic tradition regarding "looking for strengths," social work practice has followed the lead of the modern psychiatry in stressing pathology. The whole casework format constrains toward this emphasis. The client either knows, or quickly learns from the well directed cues of the social worker, that he is expected to dwell on his difficulties, and better yet his inner difficulties. If he does this, he will receive attention and gentle support from the social worker. Methods for finding, stressing, and developing strengths in the client have not been part of the technology of social work or psychiatry. Nor have they developed techniques for deflecting and controlling pathology and self-concern. As a matter of fact, the psychodynamically oriented technology and the human relations courses constrain in just the opposite direction. Little attention is given to methodologies concerned with building inner change through modifying outer behavior and environment. Role playing is probably consistent with a model that calls for external change first. We are postulating that low-income psychology, rooted as it is in a far more external (nonintrospective) mold, might be appealed to more easily by a therapeutic system based on an outer-inner change nexus rather than the inner-outer focus so characteristic of traditional casework and psychiatry.

Various suggestions have arisen oriented toward revising and

⁴ Robert Allan Harper, *Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy; 36 Systems* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959).

strengthening the field of social work: stressing the generic aspects of social work rather than the overspecialization currently found in the highly separate subdivisions of casework, group work, and community organization; socializing social work by introducing more sophisticated sociological concepts; tightening the field through more rigorous application of research methodology.

We should like to suggest a somewhat different focus; the development of social work theory and practice through intensive concern with a particular problem (a problem centered methodology). Specifically, we would recommend that the problem selected be poverty and low-income groups.

Social work training aimed toward preparing people to work in low-income areas would not only be concerned with providing a knowledge of the various low income cultures (Negro, Puerto Rican, and so forth) but would also consider appropriate techniques for working with these groups. At first such training might consist of special in-service institutes or perhaps summer workshops at the established social work institutions. Gradually this training could become a part of both graduate and undergraduate professional social work training just as it has in the field of education (and may come to be in psychiatry).

The following is intended merely as a suggestive outline, a framework, for such a program:

1. Special courses in low-income culture, and Negro and Puerto Rican culture

These courses should stress the cognitive style and psychology of the people involved; the positive (coping) elements of the culture should receive special consideration. Information regarding the games, music, food, leisure patterns, and religious interests of the various low-income cultures should be included.

2. An intensive course in role playing, stressing its special values for low-income groups and the various techniques to be employed

3. A special course in sociotherapy—a community approach to individual services

One of the purposes of this course would be to begin to break down the sharp divisions between casework, group work, and community organization and to develop, by contrast, social work gen-

eralists who would have familiarity with the various fields and integrations thereof.

4. A specialized course on a wide range of treatment approaches including:

a) Various types of psychotherapy—directive therapy; hypnosis; milieu therapy; reparative approaches; existential therapy (logotherapy); *Gestalt* therapy; guided group interaction (Highfields); art, music, and dance therapies; family therapies.

b) Alcoholics Anonymous; Synanon; Empey's Pinehills treatment of delinquents; Riese's educational therapy for severely deprived youngsters; the treatment approaches of Redl and Bettelheim; new approaches to gangs (W. Miller, Yablonsky).

This course would not be intended to teach therapeutic technique but rather to inform the participants of the range of possibilities and ongoing practices from which they might want to select for concentrated training at a later point. Where possible, visits should be made to institutions at which some of the approaches are being used and speakers from these institutions could be invited to give special presentations at the courses.

5. A special course dealing with current developments of special significance in working with low-income populations: working with nonprofessional "indigenous" personnel; the use of ideological (therapy) approaches (for example, the Negro movement) in developing community movement, behavior change; the development of new individual approaches other than casework (such as an individual approach to the development of leadership; the treatment of delinquency and drug addiction; the use of programmed learning).

Common Tasks in Health and Welfare

by JOHN D. PORTERFIELD, M.D.

WHAT IS KNOWN IN HEALTH? The answer to that question may take a little while. This is, in fact, one of the most revolutionary aspects of medicine and health today. As I recall, the beginning size of a medical school library is 50,000 volumes. Medical educators today have somewhat reluctantly concluded that the minimum amount of time—time spent in the *best* possible training circumstances—required to equip a physician properly for general or family practice consists of two years in the basic sciences, two years in the clinical sciences, one year in a rotating internship, and two years in an approved hospital residency. To become a specialist takes longer.

The size of the library and the required seven years of postbaccalaureate training are just two indices of the amount of knowledge extant today in the field of medicine. And medicine is not the only field—though I would say it is the largest—in the area of health. It is difficult to appreciate the explosion of knowledge in the field of health. In many respects, it is a dangerous knowledge. There are now tools available, in diagnosis, more particularly in therapy, which, used intelligently, are a great force for good. Used blindly, they can be very dangerous, even lethal. It has not been so many years since Oliver Wendell Holmes expressed the belief that aside from three fairly useful drugs, most of the medications available to physicians could be dumped in the sea—to the detriment of the fishes but to the benefit of humanity. Today there are dozens and dozens of critically strong therapeutic agents, almost none of which was known just a decade ago. What is true of therapeutics is true

also of surgical procedures, of preventive measures, and of methodologies.

Herein lies the importance of the education of the family doctor, or general practitioner. He must have an intelligent grasp of the whole broad field of medicine so that he knows when he may do good, when he might do harm, and when the patient needs the benefit of a specialist who has a more thorough knowledge of a particular field at the cost of a more superficial knowledge of other fields. The general practitioner is important as the ideal first port of call for the ailing person, and the reduction in his ranks now occurring in this country should be a matter of real concern. Without the general practitioner, patients tend to make their own first diagnosis and seek a specialist directly. At best, they use the emergency room of the community hospital, a fact borne out by the substantial increase in usage of such facilities for all sorts of conditions.

So vast is the field of our knowledge in health that I can give here only a sampling—not perhaps always the most significant, but some items which occur to me as having particular impact on the field of our mutual interest.

Perhaps I should say first that what we know today is only an undetermined and infinitesimal fraction of what there is to be known, what very soon will be known as the fabulous research machine which has been built in this country in the health field continues to grind out the building blocks of complete understanding. But whatever the fraction is at the moment, it is an uneven mixture within itself. For little as is known, less of it is used, and our ignorance is greatest in what might seem to be the simplest part—how to employ to best advantage what knowledge we do have. Dr. W. Harding Le Riche, of Toronto, says: "Progress in medicine . . . is not merely an intellectual exercise to keep physicians occupied . . . [it] is for the betterment of people . . . therefore, the development of sound mechanisms for bringing services to the community is important in medical progress."

We know so many things in health today and have managed to apply enough of them that we have, in this country and in many places in the world, materially changed the balance of nature. We

know how to prevent diphtheria and smallpox and whooping cough and tetanus—and even measles and now poliomyelitis. We know how to attack the environment and disease vectors so as to prevent malaria and cholera and typhoid fever and other enteric diseases. We even know how to prevent syphilis and tuberculosis—though at the moment I am much more optimistic about the latter than the former. We know, too, substantially more about the treatment of the infectious diseases than ever before—so much that we have quite dramatically extended the average life expectancy of man.

Today's student has before him several highly instructive contrasts to illustrate phases of this progress in health. There is, for instance, the contrast between the health status of American Indians and that of our population generally. The Indian Health Service program has made unbelievable strides in the past decade. But the Indian's physical environment, his economic status, his as yet imperfect adaptation to the culture which has surrounded him, the inability to apply for his benefit everything we do know, puts his health status today just about where ours was some forty years ago.

The same is true in a slightly different context of the Eskimo. Put in one of its crudest, most elementary terms, we are beginning to close tuberculosis beds in Alaska, but we are hastening to build mental hospitals.

We know enough in health today to be producing great changes in our lives and in our living conditions. But change is not necessarily always exclusively for the better. We have extended the life span and reduced or even eliminated the communicable diseases. However, we have thereby given man, not only more years of life, but more years of exposure to those influences which produce many of the chronic crippling diseases.

Tuberculosis is a case in point. I think it is fine that we can detect those who have been infected but who do not have active disease. This gives us the opportunity to follow the positive tuberculin reactors through the critical periods of their lives, so that a breakdown under stress can be identified at once and treatment instituted to prevent progression or transmission. I think it is fine that we

have a highly effective chemotherapy which, taken regularly, can prevent infection in those exposed to the disease.

But things happen. In the first place, having this knowledge we also have the responsibility to apply it where it will do the most good. And this we are not doing nearly enough. The World Health Organization Expert Committee recently set the fairly reasonable criterion that no country should consider its tuberculosis control program effective until the incidence of tuberculosis in children under fourteen was less than one percent. Not one country in the world today meets that criterion. In 1962 in the United States, 53,300 new, active cases of tuberculosis were reported and some 10,000 relapses of previously inactive cases. This is not many less than were reported in 1961. If we continue along the present curve, ten years from now there will be reported about 50,000 cases and relapses—not because we do not know, but because we do not do.

The other thing that happens is a mixed blessing, and one not confined to tuberculosis. In most economically advantaged countries there have been startling reductions in the tuberculosis death rate. Our treatment knowledge staves off death, just as our knowledge of immediate measures is preventing deaths from stroke. But having prevented death, we have still with us an individual with more or less of a handicap, more or less of a rehabilitation need—a need to be fed and clothed and sheltered, to be accepted, to be loved, and to be needed.

In California an approach to this dichotomy of highly advanced technical capability and more primitive handling of the sociologic individual is being made. At Stanford, under the direction of Dr. Daniel O'Keefe, they are considering the plight of children with a severely limiting but correctable cardiac condition. Now the physician has precise methods for measuring this condition. He has advanced surgical techniques for eliminating it. He has effective means to measure the improvement made and the new physiologic capacity of the patient. What concerns O'Keefe and his associates, both at Stanford and in the State Department of Public Health, is whether there is a coequal change in the sociologic status of the individual and, if not, what social services might pro-

mote that change. Social workers know what can happen when a cardiac, crippled from birth, is rather dramatically no longer a cardiac cripple. The patient, obviously, may not be at all prepared to assume his new role. Even more obviously, the mother, the rest of his family, and others with whom he associates may be unprepared for, even unwilling to admit the full potential of his widened horizon.

Multiply this type of case, admittedly chosen for its relative simplicity, by the protean possibilities of changed roles for the young and the old, for the resurrected and the saved. Only the dullard will fail to grasp the critical importance of a close coordination of the medical and social sciences if the miracles of medicine are to find their fullest flower.

We have eliminated from our environment for the most part, especially in this country, the bacteriological causes of disease. But we did not stop there. We have taken typhoid out of the water and yellow fever out of the air. But we have substituted industrial wastes in our water and smog in our air. And one thing we do not know very much about yet is the toxicologic effect on humans of living in such an environment over time.

This raises an interesting consideration. What has happened in medicine, both curative and preventive, has saved many lives. So many, in fact, that even in this country with its magnificent resources we have begun to be more than mildly concerned with our population figures. The degree of our concern is expressed in the popularity of the current term "population explosion." Nowhere in this country are we more seriously faced than in California with the problems which this population growth creates.

Now one could say that in this country, in search of material advancement and the affluent life, we are curing our own population problem. For, inherent in the industrial advancement and the chemical age and man's general pollution of his own environment are the seeds of man's doom. We are, in effect, eliminating the biologic factors which control human population, but we are substituting synthetic factors in air, water, food, and transportation which can have, I warrant, an even more controlling impact on our numbers than bacteria ever did.

To be sure, we are belatedly giving thought to these new threats,

and environmental health programs are adding to their fairly effective pathogen control at least the early groping steps toward preserving our environment from total contamination with toxic entities. The overstatements of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* are making us realize that more must be done about the deleterious effects of the inventions of our civilization to match their beneficial effects.

If we are successful in that endeavor in this country, we must address ourselves—as is already necessary in the less-developed countries where industrialization has not yet brought its mixed blessings—to serious and widespread public health programs in family planning.

These checks and counterbalances are telescoped in such countries, for example, as India. Here overpopulation is a serious problem at the same time that disease control programs have not yet achieved their full effect. Simultaneously, India's industrialization is growing, and thought must already be given to occupational health and environmental health in the toxicologic as well as the sanitary sense. It is no wonder, indeed, that national concern is strong in the development of family-planning programs.

To compound the matter further, it is in many of these countries in greatest need of family-planning that we have the least development of community organization. And social workers know, even better than I, that when we deal with such personal problems as family planning we need good technical advice, we need experienced consultation on the most intimate level of communal living. It is highly evident here that medicine needs social scientists to share in the planning of effective programs just as we need social workers to share in their implementation.

There is, you will recognize, a fairly profound change occurring in the area of environmental health. At the same time that we need a more effective and comprehensive environmental surveillance network, we also need much more the understanding, the appreciation, and the participation of individuals in the healthful practices that will maintain us in our doubly dangerous environment. No longer is governmental action sufficient. We need personal motivation. Can social workers help us to understand this change, to plan for

man's future? Or better, can we help you in the former, so that you can help us in the latter?

What is known in health is shading into what is new in health. Every year a whole series of monographs is published, each of which attempts to describe those advances in medical knowledge which appear to be most significant. With the author's good judgment, there are highlighted those improvements which will stand the test of time to endure as permanent advances. Each effective advance leads to many questions. We can save lives but what do we do with the lives saved? If the increase in numbers serves only to expand the denominator of the gross national product, especially in countries already at marginal or lower economic levels, for what have we saved lives? If we reduce fetal wastage and assure more live births, are we dealing only in quantitative terms? What have we done for quality? I believe, as do all of you, in the principle that human life is sacred. But having created the defective, having saved the handicapped, how do we offer them the eminence of human thought, of human existence?

Every advance creates its own problems. Many of the answers to questions created by the medical folks must be provided by others. We have rejoiced for several years now that the behavior-influencing drugs have allowed us to reduce the resident populations of our mental hospitals in spite of a constant increase in admissions. Let us not overlook the fact that we have not cured these patients of their basic underlying pathology. We have only controlled their behavioral symptoms. This has allowed us to return them to the community. By and large, the results have been good. But what if there were a day when no tranquilizers were available? What of our community life then? More realistically, what provision are we making for the individual case who fails, for whatever reason, to stay under chemotherapeutic control?

Still another problem might be listed under the heading of "what is new." A characteristic of our rising levels of education and economic ability is the demand for medical services. I defend the belief that good and adequate medical attention when he needs it, throughout his life, should be one of the rights of man as part of his ability to pursue happiness. What of the demand that is beyond

his need? I have heard it said that Americans are developing into a nation of hypochondriacs. The pressures which weigh upon my present job of studying medical manpower needs and the way to meet them in just one state lead me, on low days, to agree. Somehow we must devise the means of setting priorities when demand inordinately outstrips supply. And how do we intelligently differentiate between true need and overdemand?

One answer that is still relatively new, still relatively untested, is the use of paramedical personnel under medical direction. Much more study is needed of this matter, and I am pleased that attention to it is growing.

We come now to what is needed in health. What we need, what we have long needed, is a joint research program which will take the amazing new knowledge from basic research and study its application. Part of such a program will be directed research, odious as this word is to many investigators. Part of it will be introspective, studying, not the nature of truth, but the methodology of its utilization.

This point needs some emphasis. I have been much taken by a recent monograph written for the American Sociological Association under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation by Edward Suchman.¹ Dr. Suchman admits that one of the difficulties, perhaps the greatest, encountered by social scientists working in public health departments is that on the one hand social scientists like to study why something turned out the way it did, in terms of the humans involved, but are not too excited about how to do it differently so that the results will be better. On the other hand, public health administrators, with the forces that drive them, care not so much—perhaps not enough—why things have not worked, but they are most anxious to learn what *will* work.

So the social scientist in a health department wants to do research. And the health officer wants him to solve problems. And they do not mean the same things.

We need each other. What is more exact, people need both the public health worker and the social worker, in cooperation if we are to fulfill our purpose in life which, after all, is a common one.

¹ Edward A. Suchman, *Sociology and the Field of Public Health* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963).

The New Role of the Community Center

by IRVING BRODSKY

WHILE INSTITUTIONS GENERALLY make gradual changes in adaptation to their social settings, we foresee an acceleration of change in the practices of group service agencies, influenced by new, relevant knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences and by a growing concern in the agencies as to whether their services are meeting most effectively the needs of their members.

Developments in the past two decades, which include the shrinking proportion of teen-age members, the withdrawal of college-bound young adults, the introduction of new concepts of family membership and participation, the redeployment of resources to serve older adults, new research findings regarding the mental health needs of "typical" adults, the broadening concern with serving handicapped individuals, and other influences, have made it essential that group service agencies reassess the needs of those they seek to serve as well as the appropriateness of their characteristic methodologies. Since group work theory and related conceptions of practice were initially developed during the 1930s, the vast social changes of the ensuing two and a half decades make it imperative that both theory and practice be reassessed, together with the appropriateness of organizational forms rooted in history but not necessarily relevant to modern conceptions of meeting needs.

In general, the identification of needs has tended to be impressionistic and haphazard, often based on trial-and-error testing of membership response to various types of programs. Few agencies have evolved systematic procedures for identification of needs in program planning and appraisal. As a consequence, doctrinal gen-

eralizations about needs and methods of practice replace study and fact finding. Moreover, membership-centered activities provide no clues to involvement of the non-joiner who may have an equal or greater need for the agency's service.

Traditional Goals and Services

In broad terms, the YM-YWHA defines its general community role in a way common to other voluntary group service agencies:

1. To meet the leisure-time social, cultural, and recreational needs of its membership, embracing both sexes and all age groups
2. To stimulate individual growth and personality development by encouraging interest and capacity for group and community participation
3. To teach leadership responsibility and democratic process through group participation
4. To provide certain limited guidance services, including individual counseling, in preparation for referral to specialized services when indicated
5. To encourage citizenship education and responsibility among its members and, as a social welfare agency, to participate in community-wide programs of social betterment.

The largest proportion of the YM-YWHA's resources are devoted to the provision of services that enrich recreational and cultural experience for "normal" individuals. At the same time, while helping normal individuals to plan a better life, the YM-YWHA has been increasingly concerned with helping those who are troubled to meet problems of pathology and social disorganization. "Treatment, preventive, and enrichment services together are necessary for the healthy growth of individuals and for community welfare."¹

While the YM-YWHA identifies its major professional discipline as social group work, its services also draw upon nursery school education, health and physical education, adult education, the creative arts, and other disciplines. In common with other group service agencies that have an ethnic or sectarian auspice and motivation,

¹ Maurice Bernstein, statement quoted in *Future Directions of American Jewish Life* (New York: National Jewish Welfare Board, 1963), p. 122.

the Y is concerned with helping individuals maintain or develop identification with their ethnic group.

An individual YM-YWHA in Greater New York serves about 3,500 members, ranging from children of nursery school years to adults who are aged. Characteristic services include: a nursery school; after-school play and recreation programs and summer camping for children; social, athletic, cultural, and prevocational activities for teen-age youth and young adults; parent education and other cultural programs for adults; and, a day center for aged people. These family-oriented services are typical of the fifteen affiliated agencies of the Associated YW-YMHA's which, in both large and small facilities, serve an aggregate of about 32,000 members, including some 6,000 families.

Operating within the context of traditional concerns and services, we have in recent years become sharply aware of unmet needs in our typical populations, as well as unmet needs in the hitherto unreached and unserved populations who are also part of our communities.

In typical populations.—Concerned that its services were based largely on *a priori* assumptions of need and empirical observation, the Associated YM-YWHA's undertook a program of social research in 1960 to learn more about the characteristics and needs of its members in order to provide a sounder base for program planning and evaluation. These activities were supported by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. We began first to study the demographic characteristics of our member families, and concurrently, to conduct pilot studies of sample groups of our membership.

In our demographic studies we are using the social class index developed by Hollingshead and Redlich² to analyze the socioeconomic status of our members. A study³ of 1,000 member-families in four neighborhoods disclosed that the Jewish Community Centers are serving a population predominantly engaged in white-collar, managerial, and professional occupations (Classes II and III on

² A. B. Hollingshead and F. G. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958).

³ Victor D. Sanua, "A Demographic Study of the Membership of Four Community Centers" (New York: Associated YM-YWHA's, 1964; mimeographed).

the Hollingshead-Redlich index). This population is composed of intact families in which the parents are largely native-born; over one-third of the fathers are college graduates, and only 10 percent have had less than a high school education. A majority lack formal membership in religious institutions but nonetheless profess religious beliefs. Almost half were providing some form of religious education to their children.

Most of the Centers draw their population from their immediate environs, and most members learn about the Center by word of mouth from other "satisfied members."

Recently, in cooperation with the Wurzweiler School of Social Work of Yeshiva University, we began to study the perceptions of parents, teen-agers, and older adults who use our agencies' services. In seeking to evaluate whether our services are meeting the needs of our members, we began by seeking out *their* expression of needs, interests, and problems.

Our research staff conducted a pilot study of 115 mothers who were enrolling their six- to twelve-year-old children for the first time.⁴ The population consisted of a random sampling of mothers drawn from each of ten Centers. Three of the Centers were in low- or mixed-income areas. Some of the findings which have implications in identifying mental health needs, were:

Sixty percent of the fathers were college graduates, employed in professional, managerial, and white-collar occupations.

Over 70 percent of the mothers in all social classes hoped that their children would attend college and enter a profession.

The mothers played the major role (76 percent) in decision-making regarding the child's enrollment, but only 17 percent participated personally in the Centers' adult programs. Thus, the Center was viewed primarily as a child-serving agency, reflecting the reality that a very limited proportion of our service is provided to adults.

Activities desired by the mothers for their children fell into three equal categories: gymnastics and sports, the creative and performing arts, manual and other hobby activities.

⁴ Victor D. Sanua, "Preliminary Research Findings in Jewish Community Centers," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, XL (1963), 143-52.

Children from lower income families used Center facilities more frequently, with 90 percent attending at least twice a week. This, of course, reflects their greater dependence on the Center as a leisure-time resource.

Problems in relationships with peers and friends appeared to be of greatest incidence among lower class children, and lower class mothers tended to emphasize the Center's function of teaching their children social skills in "getting along" with others. Mothers in the middle-class categories viewed the Center as a setting for supervised play, fun, and skills development. Mothers in the upper ranking categories tended to emphasize the Center's role in dealing with developmental problems, such as immaturity and overdependency. Thus, the parents' perception of the significance of the Center's services appeared to vary with their social status, although there were some class-free or universal perceptions, as for example, that the Center provided a supervised and superior recreation experience.

About one out of three mothers described problems of relationship with their children. Seventy-one percent of the mothers hoped that a supervised group experience would contribute to the child's socialization and personality development. Thus it appears that a large proportion of parents are motivated to use the Center as a surrogate in the development and socialization of their children.

Since a purpose of the pilot study was to develop hypotheses for more rigid testing, generalizations must be made with caution and are applicable only to this sample. However, other community studies bear out the assumption that concern with children's social and developmental needs is a primary motivation in parental use of the Jewish Community Centers.⁵

A study conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center of 2,460 adults selected as representative of the normal adult population of the United States reports:

The more educated . . . have higher expectations of their . . . children, and hence are presented with greater opportunities for both

⁵ Alfred Dobrof, "What Do People Say about the Jewish Community Centers?" in 1963 *Proceedings of the Conference of Executive Directors of Large City Centers* (New York: National Jewish Welfare Board, 1963; mimeographed), pp. 1-8.

gratification and distress. They seem . . . more dissatisfied with the ways they have carried out their family responsibilities.⁶

In discussing the mental health needs of the study sample, the report notes that one in four have felt the need for professional help and: "One out of seven said he actually had sought help of some kind for past problems. . . . Among those who sought help . . . 12 per cent designated troubles involving their children."⁷

In summarizing this study's findings, the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health reported that many women "feel more inadequate as parents and have more problems with their children. . . . Men show an increasing concern over the tendency they see in themselves to neglect the emotional needs of their children."⁸

According to the Joint Commission's report, men experience anxiety about gaining or keeping status in their life work and are concerned about achieving economic security beyond "minimal adequacy"; women feel a need for satisfactions "not restricted to marriage and child rearing." The aggregate of such concerns, including worry about physical health, "tends to support other observations that many persons are anxious and insecure. . . . the Gurin-Veroff-Feld monograph supports the community surveys showing a high prevalence of persons with various psychiatric or psychological illnesses or maladjustments,"⁹ within typical or representative populations. These findings have significant implications for the planning of informal educational programs for adults in Community Centers.

A pilot study of 180 adolescents with a mean age range of fourteen to fifteen in three of our Community Centers disclosed that the Center is perceived by teen-agers primarily as a place for meeting old friends and making new ones.¹⁰ Paralleling a study finding by

⁶ Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff, and Sheila Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960), p. xvii; *Action for Mental Health*, Final Report of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1961).

⁷ Gurin, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii, xxv.

¹⁰ Victor D. Sanua, "A Study of Attitudes of Adolescents Attending Jewish Community Centers in New York" (New York: Associated YM-YWHAs of Greater New York, 1964; mimeographed).

the Boys Clubs of America,¹¹ social and athletic activities were rated as most appealing, while the creative arts, hobbies, and other cultural areas were less appealing. Social acceptance by peers was an overwhelming concern of both sexes; for boys, vocational success and achievement of wealth were major aspirations. In general, these adolescents seemed to reflect the social mobility goals of their parents and the middle-class values of the larger culture. The Community Center is used primarily to develop social skills and facilitate interaction and acceptance. The development of social skills may also be related to social mobility aspirations.

A small proportion of our teen-age members are those who are likely to be school dropouts. We plan to study the factors that make for failure in social and educational achievement within a social milieu that prizes such attainment, and also within the context of how a Community Center can help with such problems.

The third most active population served in our Centers is the aged adult. Unlike Vinter's finding in Detroit that the aged received less than 5 percent of the services provided by group service agencies,¹² the aged comprise over 10 percent of our constituency and receive a roughly proportionate share of agency services. Our pilot study of their social and health needs is currently in progress. However, as we witness their struggle to adapt to the new social roles that follow retirement, conditioned by lower income, separation from children, loss of mates, and a growing incidence of health problems, we have learned that leisure-time recreation activities are important but obviously insufficient to meet the complex of their needs.

This brief survey of typical populations indicates some of the major stresses in each phase of the life cycle that reflect social, physical, and mental health needs. These needs require a greater depth of understanding and more effective programs than have hitherto been generally manifest.

Although we have not fully translated our findings into action, there are some significant implications for program planning.

¹¹ *Needs and Interests of Adolescent Boys' Club Members: Report on the National Survey of Members Aged 14 to 18* (New York: Boys Club of America, 1960).

¹² Robert D. Vinter, "New Evidence for Restructuring Group Services," in *New Perspectives on Services to Groups* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1961), p. 52.

1. The nominal family membership required by our Centers as a condition of the child's enrollment must be translated into a reality of service for parents as well as children. This means an explicit recognition of the parents' specific concerns for the child's development, and a realistic involvement of both parents in fostering his growth.

2. We can bring about a change in the adults' perception of the Center as merely a child-serving agency if the Center's educational programs are related meaningfully to the life stresses of adults. This will require far more imaginative programs in areas concerned with health education, family life, extrafamilial satisfactions for women, and the striving of men to achieve economic security.

3. The Center's resources will have to be strengthened so that it can serve more effectively as a "mental health outpost" to provide "preventive assistance to individuals who are troubled" ¹³ and who should be guided to treatment. This implies the closer integration of psychiatric or casework service beyond the familiar patterns of current practice.

4. The driving social needs of the teen-ager need constructive satisfaction in the Community Center, and the Center requires an imaginative staff, familiar with the mores of the teen-age culture, who can also channel youth's energies into adventuresome cultural and community service pursuits. For the troubled teen-ager—potential dropout or predelinquent—the Center will need to adapt a multiservice approach in collaboration with educational, vocational counseling, and casework or psychiatric agencies to provide the remedial help required.

5. To serve many older adults more effectively, it has become abundantly clear, a multiservice approach is required to meet their interdependent needs in health and personal counseling which are inseparable from their ability to enjoy cultural and recreational services.

In deviant populations.—In the past, many groups service agencies have been fearful of serving the handicapped. Some of the deterring factors have been: agency acceptance of only those who

¹³ A. Beckerman, S. Perlin, and W. B. Weinstein, "The Montefiore Program: Psychiatry Integrates with the Community," *Mental Hospitals* (January, 1963), pp. 8-13.

conform to their norms; fear of deviance; and a fear of negative consequences, such as the loss of members.¹⁴

Since there is now a growing accumulation of positive experience in working with deviant populations, we foresee an important trend to include the handicapped as a part of the community that should be served. Our knowledge of the needs of the handicapped has for the most part, grown out of our work with orthopedically handicapped children, mentally retarded children and youth, and adult psychiatric patients.

Unlike our normal members, none of these deviant groups came to the Center spontaneously. In each instance, the Center had to reach out to welcome and serve them, sometimes assisted by the cooperation of specialized agencies. Our study of the social needs of orthopedically handicapped children revealed that the parents of these children were not aware of community recreation centers. In part, this grows out of the fact that the agencies have not chosen to make themselves "visible" and accessible to deviant populations.¹⁵

We have observed that many needs are common to orthopedically handicapped and mentally retarded children: social isolation, a depressed self-image and low self-esteem; tensions in the parent-child relationship; initial rejection by the nonhandicapped; and underdevelopment of skills in self-management and relationships with peers. These are all problems to which the Community Center can make a positive contribution provided that there is a multi-disciplinary approach involving a medicopsychological diagnosis of the individual's status and capacities, and provided that counseling services are made available to parents. Diagnosis and development of the individual's capacity for social interaction are at the core of the Community Center's contribution.

Our work with the orthopedically handicapped was preceded by a systematic study of the social and recreational needs of the population to be served. This study, supported by the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, provided significant findings which be-

¹⁴ Melvin A. Herman, "Reintegration of Handicapped Persons in the Community," in *New Perspectives in Services to Groups* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1961), pp. 70-78.

¹⁵ Arthur Schwartz, "Research in a Practice Setting," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, XL (1963), 163-69.

came the basis for a three year research and demonstration program¹⁶ to examine what happens when handicapped children interact with nonhandicapped children in recreational groups.

Supported by the U.S. Children's Bureau, the demonstration program now serves thirty handicapped children six to twelve years of age, who have been placed in over twenty play and special interest groups. Among other purposes, the exploratory research aims to examine whether improvement in the social experience and skills of the handicapped child tends to improve his self-image, which usually is reflective of low self-esteem. Other research has included: the attitudes of the nonhandicapped, both parents and children, to the handicapped; a comparison of perceptions of child functioning as seen by the handicapped child himself, his parents, and the group leader; an analysis of interaction patterns that occur among handicapped and nonhandicapped children, and between the children and their group leaders. We are also seeking to determine the institutional adaptations necessary to serve such children, and the feasibility of using group service agencies for such rehabilitative services. As findings become available, they are used to modify the program.

With the project approaching the end of its second year, the staff reports:

It has been clearly demonstrated that it is possible to integrate deviant individuals into a typical Community Center; there has been no drop-off in attendance of normal children, the agency has not suffered unduly, parents of normal children are increasingly tolerant of the handicapped children as are the normal children themselves.

The goals of this program required an interdisciplinary team which is composed of a social caseworker, a group worker, a social scientist, and a consultant physician. All except the physician are members of the project staff. The physician who examines the children and is familiar with their medical records is assigned by the Division of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation of Montefiore Hospital. For the caseworker, who works with individual parents and children, consultation is available as needed from Jewish Family Service and Montefiore Hospital's Division of Psychiatry.

This project has been constructed to meet the criterion that re-

¹⁶ A preceding first year's pilot program was conducted in cooperation with the New York Service for the Orthopedically Handicapped.

sponsible "demonstration projects . . . involve research . . . [and] the engineering, developmental or testing phase in applying new knowledge produced by research."¹⁷ The validity of the theoretical assumptions underlying this program are being evaluated systematically.

Six of our Community Centers, in cooperation with the Association for the Help of Retarded Children, are serving some 120 mentally retarded children, youth, and young adults in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. Most of this group are "mildly retarded" or "high functioning," with an IQ between 50 and 80. They have simple self-management skills and the ability to follow simple routines and instructions.

Since retardation prevents the individual from developing adequate social relationships with the nonretarded, they are generally served in special groups composed wholly of those with a similar handicap. However, the individual is helped to engage in programs on his own level, to assume responsibility, and even at times to take a leadership role. True, retarded children remain on the fringe of the Community Center's society; nevertheless, they are exposed to a somewhat accepting social setting where they can participate with the nonhandicapped in summer day camping, trips, and cultural programs. We have found that they can adjust to the daily routines and procedures of the Center setting, and one of our Centers has even had a measure of success with placing some high-functioning retardates into normal though chronologically younger groups.

While the initial reactions of nonhandicapped children were "fear, curiosity, derision, and pity," these changed later on to sympathy and a desire to be helpful.¹⁸ The retarded children were viewed as "different" but were not feared or ridiculed. Their presence was accepted.

The Community Center has the potential for making a significant contribution to the social development of the retardate by adapting services which it provides normally. These services include nursery

¹⁷ *Research in Child Welfare*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 389 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. vi.

¹⁸ Sandra Kahn, "Integration of the Mentally Retarded in a Traditional Group Work Agency," Institute of the Association for the Help to Retarded Children, 1963 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: East Flatbush-Rugby YM-YWHA, 1963; mimeographed).

school education, and recreational programs for children, adolescents, and young adults. Thus, the opportunity exists to conduct longitudinal studies over a period of years of the social development of retarded individuals under circumstances in which a battery of social and psychological services can be provided. Moreover, the Community Center can conduct significant educational programs to influence the attitudes of the nonhandicapped toward the handicapped.

Community integration of the psychiatric patient has been attempted most often as a postdischarge measure in after-care programs, such as clubs for former patients, half-way houses, and so on. There have been few attempts to maintain an active relationship between the patient and his community while he is under active care.

During the past three years, the Division of Psychiatry of Montefiore Hospital and our Mosholu-Montefiore Community Center have developed a program of "institutional overlapping" whose purpose is "to focus on the patient and his needs rather than on the type of service."¹⁹ The structural basis is the sharing of key staff and the cost of salaries and facilities by both institutions, with the shared staff primarily relating to the group of individuals whose needs require the simultaneous participation of both institutions, and who are designated as clients of both institutions simultaneously.

The underlying concepts of this hospital-Center program are:

1. A greater variety of potentially therapeutic social and recreational activities can be provided than either institution can offer alone.
2. Activities at the Center have implications for health which are different from similar activities conducted at the hospital.
3. A more meaningful set of peer interactions and reality situations can be experienced than if therapy is conducted solely in a hospital or if contracts are limited only to other patients.
4. Early experience in social and recreational roles is in accord

¹⁹ Seymour Perlin and Robert L. Kahn, "The Overlap of Medical and Nonmedical Institutions in a Community Mental Health Center Program," *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, IV (1963), 461-67.

with the concept that rehabilitation should begin when treatment is instituted.

Over two hundred patients have participated in the joint program, in groups structured to their needs, and have simultaneously participated in other organized Center activities. Almost every adult program in the Center has at one time or another included a psychiatric patient.

Since membership groups in the Center society have a value system in relation to dress, appearance, and behavior, the "normal" Center member tends to withdraw from patients who do not conform to accepted norms. On the other hand, many patients tend to modify their appearance and behavior, and relatively few have been unable to conform to accepted norms within the Center.²⁰

Our observation of the attitudes of the nonhandicapped toward those who are physically disabled and those who are mentally ill confirms the impression that there is greater fear and distrust of the mentally ill because they are more unpredictable in their behavior.

We hope in the near future to add a research dimension to this demonstration program. We are concerned with evaluating the efficacy of various group settings and programs for the patient as they are related to factors of diagnosis, the character of interactions within the group, the number of patients who can be absorbed in any one group, and the factors which lead to success or failure in adaptation to the group.

Both the hospital and the Center recognize that the primary identity of the Center as a nonspecialized community recreation agency must be maintained, and even that its normal service functions should be expanded. If the Center were viewed as an extension of the hospital, "normal" members would drop away, and the values of participation by the hospital's patients in this community setting would then be lost.

The handicapped can be integrated and served effectively only if the Community Center has first established a rich and varied program which elicits substantial participation from its community. Moreover, there can be significant learning values for the non-

²⁰ Aaron H. Beckerman, unpublished manuscript.

handicapped in sharing experiences and relationships with the handicapped. One of the crucial tests of our society is whether the majority group will, in Whitney Young's words, "risk exposure to difference" and permit democratic and equal opportunity to the members of minority groups.

The nonjoiner.—We have almost no knowledge of nonjoiners and how their characteristics differ from those of joiners. Why are nonjoiners less motivated? Do they know about the Center's services? If they do, how do their perceptions differ from those of joiners? Are the needs of nonaffiliated parents so different that they do not require the Center to exercise a role in the supervision and development of their children? Do some joiners have identifiable mental health needs which nonjoiners do not? Or, is the corollary true? Are there factors of cultural divergence which block our staff from communicating effectively with nonjoiners? These are among the questions to be examined in our future studies.²¹

Studies of mental health needs have indicated that there is a positive correlation between good mental health and engagement in interpersonal relationships, including the active use of recreational outlets. We believe, generally speaking, that joiners tend to be "better off" than nonjoiners, and may strengthen their personality resources through such engagement. While we need more detailed studies, there is growing evidence, such as that derived from the Midtown Manhattan Study, which concludes:

These data show us that engaging in group activity . . . may also have positive mental health implications. . . . Certainly participation, membership in, or interaction with a group lends a sense of strength to the individual, and brings the emotional support that many people crave. . . . One must have some of the characteristics we already consider to be signs of mental health in order to participate in groups. The circular relationship of mental health and interpersonal affiliations cannot be doubted, for each enhances the other.²²

If, from our studies, we can derive greater knowledge of the needs, perceptions, and motivations of nonjoiners, we may be able

²¹ Irving Brodsky, "Developing a Research Program in a Jewish Community Center, *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, XL (1963), 153-62.

²² Thomas S. Langner and Stanley T. Michael, *Life Stress and Mental Health*, the Midtown Manhattan Study (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), II, 294.

to devise means to attract and serve those among them who need and can benefit from community services.

Community rehabilitation programs.—In its concern with the social status and mental health needs of individuals and groups, the Community Center is equally concerned with the larger social environment of the urban society. Some of our Centers have taken a leading role in organizing neighborhood improvement associations, made up of a wide variety of groups, to improve the physical setting and the quality of neighborhood life. This function is especially vital in ethnically changing neighborhoods which often have problems of racial integration and housing redevelopment.

The multiservice center of the future will need to look more deeply both into the lives of its participants and the larger life of its community, functioning as a moving and mobilizing force in both arenas, and employing the necessary social, psychological, and political skills.

Leonard Mayo foresees "a comprehensive and inclusive neighborhood agency . . . in which case work, group work, and community organization skills as well as health services would be available under one roof."²³

The experience of our Centers weakens the sharp distinction sometimes made "between services . . . primarily directed toward sustaining community well-being and fostering healthy growth, and those . . . primarily directed toward ameliorating social problems or modifying deviance."²⁴ As our agencies recognize and act upon responsibility to the larger community, including deviant populations, their concern with fostering healthy growth expands beyond typical or normal populations.

The Community Center, as a nonclinical community setting, has much to contribute within a broad program of rehabilitation services. It can offer to the socially isolated deviant opportunities for guided social interaction with normal participants; in partnership with specialized services, the Center can facilitate the availability of medicopsychological diagnostic and counseling services, and in-

²³ Leonard W. Mayo, statement presented at Annual Meeting, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1963 (mimeographed).

²⁴ Vinter, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

tegrate them with its own recreational and informal educational functions.²⁵ The Center recognizes that the intricate interdependence of problems necessitates an integration of social and medical services that will overlap the established boundaries of agency functions.

The evolving role of the Community Center must also include the use of social research, in close collaboration with universities—as an important tool in the periodic reassessment of the needs, anxieties, and strengths of its clientele. Then, the Center's services will be adapted more effectively to all members of its typical families, while at the same time the Center will exercise an important and nourishing role in the community's pattern of mental health and rehabilitation services.

Community Centers and other group service agencies present a unique setting for the study of social health. The unique dynamic of a Community Center—in its physical setting and programs—is that it seeks to mobilize the individual's impulses and energies in the direction of health. The demands of social interaction, the task-oriented activities of cultural and recreational pursuits, the values and norms of the Center society are all elements that call for positive individual and group adaptations. These influences are exerted with equal force on both normal and deviant individuals. In the language of the founders of the pioneering Peckham Health Centre, the "Centre . . . openly conspires with the individual . . . to sustain himself in his society, while at the same time taking deliberate measures for the elimination of his disorders." ²⁶

There is no impassable gulf between the mentally ill and the mentally healthy; differences in behavior are differences in degree on a wide continuum. Every functioning individual has within himself elements of both illness and health. Mental health is not a reflection of lack of stress or problems but rather of a capacity to deal with problems, and even to seek and use help when it is needed. Yet, we know more about illness than health, and much of our

²⁵ Bernard Warach, "Toward the Creation of Comprehensive Services in Mosholu, 1955" (New York: Jewish Association for Neighborhood Centers; mimeographed).

²⁶ Innes H. Pearse and Lucy H. Crocker, *The Peckham Experiment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1946), p. 276.

knowledge of health has been derived from studies of illness. It is understandable that resources should be so largely devoted to studies of individual and social pathology, and yet a more balanced, comprehensive approach must include a concern with the genesis of mental health and its maintenance.

We hope that our work with the handicapped individual will improve his self-image. But we do not know what constitutes the self-image of the normal individual. What are the criteria of "normality" in the social and psychological development of children, adolescents, and adults? What are the criteria for social growth and adjustment, and for the achievement of realistic life satisfactions in each phase of the life cycle? What is a healthy marriage and a healthy family? What are the relevant criteria for healthy relationships between parents and children from early childhood to young adulthood and beyond? How are cultural and social values transmitted from one generation to the next? What are the dynamics of skills development, and the exercise of proficiency?

Are not some of the base lines for studies of need and behavior to be found in these comparatively neglected areas?

The Community Center is a natural social laboratory for studying social interactions, for developing social skills, for tracing the evolution of leadership, for evaluating responses to, and participation in, a great variety of program activities. Perhaps we shall even achieve a research capability in the future to measure the outcomes of participation.

In the network of the community's social welfare agencies it is probable that the Community Center reaches the largest proportion of those who are relatively self-sustaining. This population can be a fertile group for studies of positive mental health, normal social development, and research into the sources of personality strength. Our major contribution in social research may in time stem from studies of health among our normal members. Our major contribution will be the nourishment of social health in those who need and use our services.

Information and Document Retrieval in Social Welfare

by JOE R. HOFFER

TODAY, IT IS DIFFICULT to keep up with the available information in social welfare. We must therefore use some means of finding what we need when we need it. Published indexes are the best tools for achieving this goal. However, there are no current general indexes in this field. The cost of producing conventional indexes and their limitations have left a significant gap in our ability to search and retrieve social welfare information, that is, to look for and locate a piece of information or a document which has been stored or filed.

In examining the problem of retrieving social welfare information and discussing some developments in information retrieval in social welfare the writer will draw heavily on the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) Pilot Project on Document Retrieval, and on two Workshops on Information Retrieval in Social Welfare which have been summarized elsewhere.¹

By whatever name we call it, the problem is essentially this: An individual can be and often is burdened by an overabundance of information. The complexity and extent of knowledge in all specialties and fields are increasing, and as the interrelationships among different fields of knowledge multiply, more and more sources of information, familiar and unfamiliar, must be explored to assure that vital facts or ideas are not overlooked. In this situation there is an obvious need for improved methods and techniques to filter, select, and direct the flow of truly pertinent facts and ideas from the vast reservoir of available information.

¹ Joe R. Hoffer, "A Document Retrieval System for Social Welfare," National Conference on Social Welfare, 1963.

The problem of creating improved methods and techniques for searching and retrieving social welfare data is made more difficult because of the nature and complexity of social welfare. Social welfare is a field encompassing the community social services under governmental or voluntary auspices which exist potentially for each member of the community. Boundaries between social welfare and related fields—education, religion, health, to name a few—are indistinct. If social welfare is reserved for describing the field of work or services, then “social work” could be used to designate the major professional core of social welfare; but this term too is given many meanings by those who use it.

Social services are directed toward helping individuals, groups, and communities to meet six major types of problems: economic dependency; maladjustment; social aspects of ill-health; leisure-time needs; provision and management of social services; and societal conditions. In addition, consideration must be given to such factors as:

1. The methodologies and techniques used in the social welfare field
2. The various auspices under which services are provided
3. The various geographical levels of operation at which services are rendered
4. The various age groups served
5. The settings in which social work is practiced
6. The contributions of allied fields.

In this brief listing of the major components of the social welfare field, one may recognize its nature and complexity and the extent of its information problem. The NCSW Pilot Project and the Workshops have demonstrated one fact—that an attempt to classify the services and activities of the social welfare field under any of the existing conventional classification schemes, such as the Dewey, Library of Congress, and Brussels systems, using a hierarchical structure, is impractical and ineffective.

Therefore, some of the important problems of information retrieval are related to the development of: (1) appropriate means to classify and retrieve social welfare data; and (2) systematic research in social welfare terminology. These problems are compli-

cated further because an unusually large percentage of basic information in social welfare is available only in manuscripts, monographs, and pamphlets. In social welfare, the paper prepared for the workshop or conference is usually the first vehicle for presentation of research findings and theoretical material.

To solve the information problem in our society, the discipline known as "information retrieval" has been growing apace. Today, the unwieldy mass of technical information is made available by use of punch cards, coordinate indexes, microfilm, special classification schedules, codes, and, perhaps most striking of all to the layman, the dramatic use of electronic computers.

Industry will be spending 200 million dollars a year by 1968 for mechanizing the retrieval of information. Mankind is learning things so fast that it is now a problem how to store information so that it can be found when needed. Not finding it costs the U. S. over one billion dollars per year.²

There is growing evidence that a revolution in the technical publishing industry is under way. Publishing of technical books has come full circle after thousands of years because man's needs for knowledge are changing.

After the manuscript laboriously transcribed by monks came the small editions from early printing presses, and then the large editions from high-speed rotary presses, and the short runs of ordinary offset printing techniques. Finally, the need has risen to return to the old concept of the single copy or a few copies produced on demand.

As is well known, technical and professional journals are multiplying and increasing in size. Yet publication tends to be a slow process, and readers are overwhelmed rather than kept well-informed. It is predicted by several documentation experts³ that in the near future the papers in journals will be restricted to those which are critical, analytical, historical, and tutorial. The balance of the journal space will be devoted to brief summaries. Processes

² B. E. Holm. "Searching Strategies and Equipment," *American Documentation*, XIII, No. 1 (1962), 31.

³ See Calvin N. Mooers. "Draft for Presentation to the Information Retrieval Subcommittee. IEEE," Rockville, V-152 (Cambridge, Mass.: Rockville Research Institute, 1963).

and techniques are now in use to achieve these goals if this kind of publication can be made "fashionable" and acceptable.

The underlying cause of this change is the explosion of world scholarship and the resultant demand for documents that cannot be met by libraries without help. With the increasing specialization of knowledge more and more documents are wanted by fewer and fewer people.

To the average worker or volunteer in social welfare, the hours spent in gathering information or writing reports are often regarded as a wasteful encroachment on time that would otherwise be spent doing other things. Little data are available about what kind of social welfare information individuals want or need.

An examination of the NCSW files revealed recent inquiries that may be classified under such headings as:

1. Social work encyclopaedia articles: public relations, community development, social action, community organization
2. General session subjects: broad economic, social, and political material
3. Section program planning: methods and techniques
4. Research projects on specific problems: delinquency, housing, urban renewal, and so forth
5. State conference program planning
6. Orientation materials for laymen.

More specific requests have been received recently with the announcement of the NCSW Document Service. These fall under the following headings:

1. Community organization among the rural people of the United States and in developing countries
2. Social action and social reform
3. Undergraduate training
4. Social work and social workers in group service agencies
5. Special services for children in public schools since 1950
6. Settlement-house-inspired social action
7. Volunteers since 1955
8. Neighborhood involvement in planning for community development
9. Various methods in use in assisting children to adjust to school, home, or community

10. Family-centered casework in clinical settings
11. Cooperation of patients in recommended medical treatment programs
12. The use of indigenous paid personnel and volunteers from minority or culturally deprived groups
13. Social work and low-income groups
14. Shortages in social work manpower
15. Programs and services to needy transient people
16. Field-work instruction in social work education
17. Adoption of hard-to-place children
18. Adoption resources
19. Goal-setting in social work practice
20. "Battered-child" syndrome.

These questions and the accompanying letters suggest that, in addition to the traditional uses of NCSW materials, the available data can be useful for in-service education, personal education, teaching, and research projects.

The NCSW Document Retrieval System

The Conference's main product is information—information useful for in-service education, administration, supervision, training, research, and program planning. The Conference has suffered in the past from all the handicaps described above in attempting to make the contents of its publications available for these purposes. Its Pilot Project, now in its secondary stage, proposes to discharge this function through three distinct services: a Keyword in Context (KWIC) Index, selected subject bibliographies, and answering of individual inquiries.

The KWIC Index of NCSW Publications, 1924-62.—The KWIC Index is similar to a conventional index except that it utilizes an automatic coding technique rather than a manual listing of subjects. The NCSW KWIC Index includes keywords from each manuscript title arranged alphabetically; a bibliography containing authors, titles, and sources of the documents; and a listing of authors.

The KWIC Index, or title permutation indexing, is a combination of key word and computer indexing. The entire index-producing operation is performed automatically once the titles and

related bibliographical data have been prepared for the computer. Each significant keyword of the document title is used in turn with its context as an index term. The keywords in each document are arranged alphabetically down the center of each column. Within the printing space allotted, each title is shifted to the right, one keyword at a time, and placed alphabetically in order with all other keywords. Many of the titles are amplified by the editorial insertion of keywords which further reveal the content of the document.

The KWIC Index is, in effect, a miniature portable information center operating on a do-it-yourself basis. It has an important advantage of permitting browsing, which is highly essential when the searcher does not know exactly what he is looking for. It gives information immediately because there is no waiting for search time on a computer.

The KWIC Index is divided into three sections: (1) Keyword Index; (2) Bibliography; (3) Author Index. Excerpts from each of the major sections follow.

KWIC INDEX OF NCSW PUBLICATIONS, 1924-62

KEYWORD INDEX (PAGE 7)

CT of the United States	Children's Bureau	Proje	OWENL-38-GWR
K Activity Program in a	Children's Institution	Group Wor	DODSDJ-58-SGW
RENDS of Social Work	Chile	T	DEROLT-41-TSW
Problems and Program	China	Welfare	HOWDS-46-WPP
National Planning for	Chronic Disease Control		LEVIML-50-NPC
The	Church and Social Justice		SILVAH-27-CSJ
Britain and	Cincinnati/Reducing Unemployment/		SELEBM-37-BCR
Developments in Our	Cities and Metropolitan Areas		SIEDVM-55-COD

NOTE. It will be seen that seven keywords have been selected for illustration. For example, "Children's" is arranged alphabetically down the center of the column. Within the printing space allotted, each title is shifted to the right, one keyword at a time, and placed in alphabetical order with all other keywords. The complete title of this document is: "The Group Work Reporting Project of the United States Children's Bureau." This document is indexed in the NCSW KWIC Index under seven keywords: group; work; reporting; United; States; children; and bureau.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(p. 85) OWENL-38-GWR

Owen, L J

The Group Work Reporting Project of the United States Children's Bureau

300-05064-938 NCSW Proceedings, V 65, pp. 381-91
University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1938

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| (p. 61) DODSDJ-58-SGW | Dodsworth, D J
A Social Group Work Activity Program in a
Children's Institution
300-06612-958 NCSW Social Work with Groups,
1958, pp. 16-27 |
| (p. 61) DEROLT-41-TSW | Deromero, L T Trends of Social Work in Chile 300-
05251-941 NCSW Proceedings, V 68, pp. 115-21 |
| (p. 70) HOWAD-46-WPP | Howard, D S
Welfare Problems and Programs in China
300-05510-946 NCSW Proceedings, V 73, pp. 31-45
Columbia University Press, New York 1946 |

NOTE. These four entries in the NCSW KWIC Index illustrate the method by which one moves from a keyword to the bibliographical data. The document by L. J. Owen is indexed by seven keywords in its title. After each of these keywords may be found the author's code: OWENL-38-GWR. This code is interpreted as the first four initials of the author's last name, his initials, the year the document was presented, and, finally, the first three letters of the initial three keywords of the title.

AUTHORS

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| (p. 110) Owen L J | OWENL-38 GWR |
| (p. 104) Dodsworth D J | DODSDJ-58 SGW |
| (p. 104) Deromero L T | DEROLT-41 TSW |
| (p. 106) Howard D S | HOWADS-46 WPP |
| (p. 108) Levin M L | LEVIML-50 NPC |
| (p. 111) Silver A H | SILVAH-27 CSJ |
| (p. 111) Sieder V M | SIEDVM-55 COD |
| (p. 111) Selekmán B M | SELEBM-37 BCR |

NOTE. The authors included in the NCSW KWIC Index are arranged alphabetically with the author's code. This code can be used to find the bibliographical data that will include the full title and source.

The KWIC Index of NCSW Publications, 1924-62, covers 2,600 manuscripts written by 1,650 authors. Approximately 1,325 keywords are indexed in the 11,500 index entries. The average is 4.4 indexing entries per document.

Selected subject bibliographies.—A number of selected subject bibliographies will be compiled by a computer using a combination of keywords in the titles, "descriptors" (broad concepts or ideas), and "uniterms" (keywords used by the authors). The combination of these three classifications provides from twenty to thirty-five indexing terms to search for documents. These bibliographies will include single and combination subjects, such as, aging, public assistance, corrections, group work in mental institutions, casework

in public welfare, and so on. In addition to the bibliographical data, descriptors (D) and uniterms (X) will be added. An example of a complete reference of one document follows:

KWIC INDEX OF NCSW PUBLICATIONS, 1924-62

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA WITH ANNOTATION

300-03112-943 Van Driel, Agnes, "Training the Paid Untrained Worker," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, Annual Meeting, 70th, 1943. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 331-39 (also Microfilm)

46 (D)	Teaching & learning	(X) untrained workers
31 (D)	Personnel	(X) staff development
18 (D)	Government	(X) public assistance
38 (D)	Research & studies	(X) employee separation
1 (D)	Administrative & organizational	(X) supervision
14 (D)	Edu-academic	(X) educational leave
9 (D)	Conferencing	(X) institutes
6 (D)	Communication	(X) literature
57 (C)	Provision & management	

NOTE. Each document is given a file number. For example, 300-03112-943 means that this document is in the NCSW library and it was the 3112th document published by the Conference. The date of publication is 1943.

Three letter codes are used to designate the various types of coding. The letter *D* denotes a descriptor, a broad concept or keyword selected arbitrarily for control purposes. Uniterms, keywords selected by the coder from the author's text, are designated by the letter *X*. The letter *C* means "category," or one of twelve basic subject areas in the social welfare field. The coders were instructed to indicate only the major categories.

The KWIC Index and the selected bibliographies should be used first by an individual to search for pertinent documents. If these sources prove satisfactory, he may go to one of approximately a thousand agency, school, and public libraries for the original document. If the original document cannot be found in the local community, the Conference will provide a copy at cost.

If the search of these two sources does not produce results, the Conference will be prepared to make a search of its files at cost.

General Information Service.—A second NCSW Workshop on Information Retrieval was held in January, 1964, to explore the latest ways and means of meeting the "information crisis" in social welfare that faces administrators, supervisors, researchers, writers, teachers, board members, and conference planners. The workshop was attended by thirty-six individuals representing twenty-eight organizations, including sixteen national organizations, two Federal agencies, and three schools of social work.

In addition to dealing with many technical problems in information and document retrieval, the workshop and the Advisory Committee on the NCSW Information Service made three recommendations for the development of a general information service for social welfare:

1. A series of independent specialized information centers in the social welfare field, utilizing uniform procedures, should be organized.
2. The NCSW should serve as a coordinator or clearinghouse for these independent centers.
3. A working arrangement should be developed with the National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information for the exchange of information between the social welfare and mental health fields.

The Conference Executive Committee reviewed these recommendations and agreed that the coordinating or clearinghouse functions for a general information service for social welfare is an appropriate one, but it must be given a low priority at this time because of the lack of resources.

The National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information, a comprehensive information service under the auspices of the National Institutes of Mental Health, has agreed informally to sponsor a third workshop in the fall of 1964. This workshop will focus on uniform procedures which independent specialized information centers may use that will be compatible with the clearinghouse program.

The NCSW will expand its information service by indexing 2,500 additional high-utility documents suitable for conference program planning. These documents will be selected by the Conference staff with special reference to basic social problems being considered in local, state, national, and international conferences.

It is still too early to make any sound generalizations about the reliability and validity for social welfare of the nonconventional procedures and techniques which are being used primarily in the physical sciences. There is a danger of overmechanization. It is always necessary to consider whether a simple machine or method can be used. We must make sure that advantages claimed for a machine system are, in fact, inherent in the machine and not just

brought about by an improvement in the system, as, for instance, coordinative indexing which could be applied manually with equal effectiveness. In addition, all experimentation with information or document retrieval techniques must be accompanied by efforts to clarify our terminology. Progress in dealing with the information explosion can result only from a two-pronged approach: greater precision in our use of words together with improved ways of locating information. Nevertheless, we are encouraged that the modest beginnings made by the NCSW Pilot Project hold great promise, and that the proposed techniques will make available to everyone the considerable knowledge to be found in the Conference publications and can be used effectively in a document retrieval system for social welfare.

Appendix A: Program

THE MAJOR FUNCTION of the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) is to provide a dynamic educational forum for the critical examination of basic welfare problems and issues.

Programs of the Annual Forums are divided into two parts: (1) the General Sessions and the meetings of the section and division committees, all of which are arranged by the NCSW Program Committee and the National Board; and (2) meetings which are arranged by the associate and special groups affiliated with the NCSW.

In addition to arranging these meetings, associate and special groups participate in the over-all planning of the Annual Forum programs.

In order that the NCSW may continue to provide a democratic forum in which all points of view are represented, it is prohibited by its Constitution from taking positions on social issues. Individuals who appear on Annual Forum programs speak for themselves and have no authority to use the name of the NCSW in any way which would imply that the organization has participated in or endorsed their statements or positions.

Theme: Social Welfare's Responsibility to Communities in Change

SUNDAY, MAY 24

2:00 P.M.—3:00 P.M.

ORIENTATION FOR NEWCOMERS

Speakers: Melvin A. Glasser, Director, Social Security Department, UAW, AFL-CIO, Detroit; Chairman, NCSW Public Relations Committee
Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York

3:30 P.M.—5:00 P.M.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, SOCIAL REALITY AND CHILD WELFARE
PROGRAMS: A LOOK AT GROUP CARE OF CHILDREN IN ISRAEL
AND SEVERAL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

[*U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work*]

Presiding: Charles I. Schottland, Chairman, U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work; Dean, Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

Speaker: Martin Wolins, Associate Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

8:00 P.M.

OPENING GENERAL SESSION

This session is a continuation of the memorial series in memory of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Presiding: Nathan E. Cohen, President, National Conference on Social Welfare; Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences and Vice-President, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

The State Government's Responsibility to Communities in Change

Speaker: The Hon. Edmund G. Brown, Governor of the State of California

World Peace: a Foreign Policy or a Domestic Issue?

Speaker: Arthur I. Waskow, Peace Research Institute Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington

10:00 P.M.

CONFERENCE RECEPTION

MONDAY, MAY 25

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

GENERAL SESSION

Value Dilemmas Facing Communities in Change

[*Division*]

Presiding: Mrs. Leonard H. Bernheim, Second Vice-President, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York

Speaker: Abbott Kaplan, Professor of Education and Director of University Extension, University of California at Los Angeles

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

GENERAL SESSION: LINDEMAN MEMORIAL LECTURE

The Human Consequences of Social Change

[*Division*]

Presiding: John B. Turner, Chairman of Division; Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Speaker: Robert L. Barre, scientist and author, Washington, D.C.

A Model for Analyzing Social Problems

Speaker: Herman D. Stein, Professor of Social Work, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

1:00 P.M.

HELPING A LITTLE BOY TO MATURITY

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Carl Scott, Child Study Association of America, New York

"Who Cares about Jamie?" Smart Family Foundation, 65 East South Water Street, Chicago 1

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

A SIGNIFICANT YOUTH PROJECT

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

"As the Twig Is Bent." Champaign Youth Council, Champaign, Ill.

SOCIAL CHANGE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

At the following concurrent sessions there will be presentations of the highlights of papers prepared for the National Association of Social Workers' project on "Social Work's Contribution to the Solution of Social Problems," followed by panel discussion and questions and discussion by the audience.

2:00 P.M.—5:00 P.M.

POVERTY

[*Division. Group Meeting 1*]

Presiding: Fern Colborn, Secretary for Housing and Urban Renewal, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Houses, New York

Poverty

Speaker: Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg

Discussants: James R. Dumpson, Commissioner, New York City Department of Welfare

Irving Kriegsfeld, Executive Director, Mission Neighborhood Centers, San Francisco

Sanford Solender, Executive Vice-President, Jewish Welfare Board, New York

MARITAL INCOMPATABILITY

[*Division. Group Meeting 2*]

Presiding: Clark Blackburn, General Director, Family Service Association of America, New York

Marital Incompatibility as a Social Problem

Speaker: Werner A. Lutz, Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

Discussants: Charles J. Browning, Associate Professor of Sociology, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.

Mrs. Jean B. Livermore, social worker in private practice, Los Angeles

CHILD NEGLECT

[*Division. Group Meeting 3*]

Presiding: Mrs. Annie Lee Sandusky, Chief, Program Operation Branch, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Child Neglect as a Social Problem and as a Target for Social Work Intervention

Speaker: Elizabeth G. Meier, Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Discussants: John G. Milner, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Vincent DeFrancis, Director, Children's Division, American Humane Association, Denver

Donald Brieland, Director, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, Chicago

UNMARRIED MOTHERS

[*Division. Group Meeting 4*]

Presiding: Genevieve W. Carter, Office of Program Research, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

The Unmarried Mother: a Social and a Social Work Problem

Speaker: Helen Harris Perlman, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Discussants: Mary Louise Allen, Executive Director, Florence Crittenton Association of America, Chicago

Ursula M. Gallagher, Specialist on Services to Unmarried Mothers, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Jeweldean Jones, National Urban League, New York

THE BROKEN FAMILY

[*Division. Group Meeting 5*]

Presiding: Mrs. Esther C. Spencer, Chief, Bureau of Public Health Social Work, California State Department of Public Health, Berkeley

The Broken Family

Speaker: Otto Pollak, Professor, Department of Sociology, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Discussants: Mrs. Elizabeth G. Watkins, Assistant Director, Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago

Kermit Wiltse, Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Gertrude M. Hengerer, Executive Director, Family Service Association of Palo Alto and Los Altos, Calif.

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

[Division. Group Meeting 6]

Presiding: Bertram M. Beck, Associate Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers, New York

Social Work and the Control of Delinquency

Speaker: Alfred J. Kahn, Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

Discussants: Maurice F. Connery, Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles

Sanford M. Kravitz, Program Coordinator, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Washington, D.C.

Richard A. McGee, Administrator, California Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, Sacramento

PSYCHOSIS

[Division. Group Meeting 7]

Presiding: Nathan Sloate, Assistant Deputy Director, Community Services, California State Department of Mental Hygiene, Sacramento

Psychosis: Objectives, Methods, and Strategy for Effective Programs of Social Work Intervention, Problem Management, and Control

Speaker: Leon Lucas, Professor, School of Social Work, Wayne State University, Detroit

Discussants: M. Robert Harris, M.D., Director of Clinical Services and Chairman, Community Mental Health Training Program, Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, San Francisco

Alfred H. Katz, Associate Professor of Social Welfare in Medicine, School of Public Health, University of California at Los Angeles

Joseph Bobbitt, National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bethesda, Md.

DETERIORATION OF THE INNER CITY

[Division. Group Meeting 8]

Presiding: Nelson C. Jackson, Associate Executive Director, National Urban League, New York

Social Work in the Amelioration of Social Problems in the Inner City—a First Step toward Defining a Small Area Approach

Speaker: Lawrence K. Northwood, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Washington, Seattle

Discussants: Richard S. Bachman, Executive Director, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

Rev. Nicholas Kouletsis, Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Los Angeles

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

ANTISOCIAL GROUPS

[Division. Group Meeting 9]

Presiding: Charles F. Grosser, Deputy Director of Action Programs, Mobili-

- zation for Youth, New York
 Social Work's Contribution to the Resolution of the Problem of Antisocial Behavior of Groups of Adolescents
Speaker: Catherine V. Richards, Training Center, Boston University
Discussants: Joseph D. Lohman, Dean, School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley
 Andrew G. Freeman, Executive Director, Urban League of Philadelphia
 John J. Jones, District Director, Neighborhood Youth Association, Los Angeles

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

[*Division. Group Meeting 10*]

- Presiding:* Mrs. Joseph Willen, President, National Council of Jewish Women, New York
 The Racial Crisis
Speaker: Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League, New York
Discussants: Kurt Reichert, Albany, N.Y., President, National Association of Social Workers
 Margaret Berry, Executive Director, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York
 Joseph McDonald, Director of Field Service, Family Service Association of America, New York

8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SESSION

- Presiding:* Margaret E. Adams, First Vice-President, National Conference on Social Welfare; Associate Director, National Association of Social Workers, New York
 The Architecture of Future Welfare Policy, Program, and Structure: the Presidential Address
Speaker: Nathan E. Cohen, President, National Conference on Social Welfare; Vice-President and Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

TUESDAY, MAY 26

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

POWER RELATIONS AND DECISION-MAKING IN AN AMERICAN STATE

- [*Cosponsoring Groups: Section VI (Methods of Social Action); Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization; NASW Division on Social Policy and Action*]
Presiding: Donald S. Howard, Professor of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles

Speaker: Hallock Hoffman, Director of the Study of the Political Process, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif.

Discussant: Hale Champion, Director, California State Department of Finance, Sacramento

THE ROLE OF BOARD MEMBERS IN HEALTH AND WELFARE AGENCIES

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Mary Helen Merrill, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

"Position of Trust." American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL PLANNING IN URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization*]

Presiding: David M. Austin, Lecturer, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Speakers: Lloyd E. Ohlin, Director, Research Center, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

Martin Rein, Graduate Department of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

WHAT IS SOCIAL GROUP WORK?

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: James H. Scull, Director, Public Relations Department, National Association of Social Workers, New York

"The Group Worker." University of Michigan Television Center, Ann Arbor, Mich.

1:00 P.M.

UNDERSTANDING SUICIDE

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Sam M. Heilig, Co-chief Social Worker, Suicide Prevention Center, Los Angeles

"The Cry for Help." Norwood Films, 926 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington 1, D.C.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

THE CALIFORNIA STORY—ACHIEVING MAJOR WELFARE CHANGE THROUGH STUDY AND LEGISLATION

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section VI (Methods of Social Action); NASW Division on Social Policy and Action*]

Presiding: Msgr. William R. Johnson, Director, Catholic Charities, Los Angeles

Speakers: John M. Wedemeyer, Director, California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento

Winslow Christian, Executive Secretary to Governor Edmund G. Brown, Sacramento

Jerome Sampson, Executive Secretary, California Board of Social Welfare, Sacramento

BASIC INGREDIENTS TO A WORKABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSING, URBAN RENEWAL, AND SOCIAL PLANNING

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 1*]

(This is the first of two meetings on the same subject.)

Presiding: Albert G. Rosenberg, Associate Executive Director, Social Welfare Planning Council, New Orleans

Speaker: C. F. McNeil, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia

NEW ELEMENTS IN SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING: CITIES MOBILIZE AGAINST DELINQUENCY, FOR OPPORTUNITY AND FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 2*]

(This is the first of two meetings on the same subject.)

Presiding: Eva Schindler-Rainman, Community Organization Consultant, Los Angeles

Speaker: Alfred J. Kahn, Professor, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

BASIC INGREDIENTS TO A WORKABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSING, URBAN RENEWAL AND SOCIAL PLANNING

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 1*]

(This is a continuation of the 2:00 P.M. meeting on the same subject.)

Presiding: William Bacon, Executive Director, Community Welfare Council of the Dayton, Ohio, Area

Panel members: James G. Banks, Executive Director, United Planning Organization, Washington Metropolitan Area

Mrs. Catherine Bauer Wurster, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, Berkeley

Elmer J. Tropman, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO PLANNED CHANGE, AS ILLUSTRATED IN DELINQUENCY PROJECTS AND OTHERS

[Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 2]

(This is a continuation of the 2:00 P.M. meeting on the same subject.)

Presiding: Eva Schindler-Rainman, Community Organization Consultant, Los Angeles

Discussants: David M. Austin, Project Director, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

John B. Turner, Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Shelton B. Granger, Chief, Educational and Manpower Development Division, Office of Institutional Development, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

NEW HORIZONS FOR HOMEMAKER SERVICES

[Audio-visual Committee]

Presiding: Peter G. Meek, Executive Director, National Health Council

"To Temper the Wind." National Council for Homemaker Services, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019

Discussion leader: Clark W. Blackburn, General Director, Family Service Association of America, New York

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

GENERAL SESSION

The Challenge to Social Welfare in an Age of Automation

Presiding: James R. Dumpson, Third Vice-President, National Conference on Social Welfare; Commissioner of Welfare, New York

Speaker: I. John Billera, Executive Vice-President, U.S. Industries, Inc., New York; Director, American Foundation on Automation and Employment

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

FACTORS IN THE GROWTH OF A PROFESSIONAL SELF

[Section I (Casework). Group Meeting 1]

Presiding: Mary Lewis, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans

Speaker: Rubin Blanck, caseworker, Arthur Lehman Counseling Service, New York

Discussant: Ruth Fizdale, Executive Director, Arthur Lehman Counseling Service, New York

ISSUES IN THE NEW MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM RELATING TO LABOR AND LOW-INCOME GROUPS

[Section I. Group Meeting 2]

Presiding: Dorothy J. Lyons, M.D., Supervising Physician, Los Angeles City schools

Speaker: Robert Reiff, Director, National Institute of Labor Education Mental Health Program, New York

Discussants: Philip Wagner, M.D., Southern California Permanente Medical Group, Los Angeles

Alan M. Kraft, M.D., Director, Fort Logan Mental Health Center, Denver

THE USE OF INDIGENOUS PERSONNEL IN WORKING WITH MINORITY AND CULTURALLY DEPRIVED GROUPS

[Section I. Group Meeting 3]

Presiding: Mrs. Clarice Platt, Chief Social Worker, Kalamazoo (Mich.) Child Guidance Clinic

The Use of Indigenous Volunteers from Minority and Culturally Deprived Groups

Speaker: Nelson C. Jackson, Associate Executive Director, National Urban League, New York

The Use of Indigenous Paid Personnel from Minority and Culturally Deprived Groups

Speaker: George Brager, Director of Action Program, Mobilization for Youth, New York

A REPORT ON THE AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN ELIGIBILITY REVIEW

[Section I. Group Meeting 4]

Chairman: Guy R. Justis, Executive Director, Colorado State Department of Public Welfare, Denver

Speaker: Ellen B. Winston, Commissioner, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Lucile Kennedy, Chief, Family and Children's Division, California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento

Mrs. Marion Chopson, Chief of Review Division, California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento

SOCIAL WORK METHOD AND PLANNED CHANGE: THE CASE OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK

[Section II. (Social Group Work)]

Speaker: Hans Falck, Associate Professor, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis

Discussant: Minnie M. Harlow, Chairman of Section II; Chief Social Group Worker, Menninger Foundation, Topeka

THE NEW ROLE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN PUBLIC SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING AND PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES

[Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization]

Presiding: James R. Dumpson, New York City Commissioner of Welfare

Speaker: Fred H. Steininger, Director, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Gene M. Lean, Associate Director, Extension Service, Oregon State University, Corvallis

HEW RESEARCH IN PROBLEMS OF POVERTY: A REPORT

[Section IV (Research). Group Meeting 1]

Presiding: Ralph E. Pumphrey, Chairman of Section IV; Associate Professor, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis

Panel members: Genevieve W. Carter, Associate Director, Division of Research, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Samuel Martz, Assistant Commissioner for Management Services, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Alvin L. Schorr, Division of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Gilbert R. Barnhart, M.D., Chief, Office of Research Grants, Bureau of State Services, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

YOUTH AND THE COMMUNITY: RESEARCH AND TRAINING FOR DELINQUENCY CONTROL

[Section IV. Group Meeting 2]

Presiding: Phillip Fellin, Assistant Professor, St. Louis University School of Social Service, St. Louis

Speakers: Peter Rompler, Assistant in Social Work, St. Louis University School of Social Service, St. Louis

Gerald Holden, Field Instructor, St. Louis University School of Social Service, St. Louis

Discussants: Bernard Kogon, Director of Training, Los Angeles County Probation Department

Barbara Pearman, Las Palmas, Los Angeles

THE STUDY OF PLANNED COMMUNITY CHANGE UNDER VOLUNTARY AND GOVERNMENTAL AUSPICES

[Section IV. Group Meeting 3]

Presiding: Lloyd Street, Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region

Speaker: Thomas D. Sherrard, Assistant Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Discussant: Sanford M. Kravitz, Program Coordinator, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Washington, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE USES OF AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING

[Section V. (Administration)]

Presiding: Saya Schwartz, Chief, Division of State Administration and

Fiscal Standards, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Utilizing Data Processing Methods and Equipment

Speaker: Ludwig Guckenheimer, Director, Division of Special Services, Louisiana Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge

Values of ADP to the Administrator

Speaker: Andrew S. Juras, Administrator, Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, Salem

AUTOMATION—IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE IN SOCIAL WELFARE

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section VI. (Methods of Social Action); NASW Division on Social Policy and Action*]

Presiding: Mitchell Ginsberg, Associate Dean, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

Speakers: Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg

Ned Goldberg, Associate Area Director, American Jewish Committee, Chicago (pages read by Russell Hogref, Chicago)

INSIDE "EAST SIDE, WEST SIDE"

[*NCSW Public Relations Committee*]

Presiding: Mrs. Leonard H. Bernheim, New York; Vice-President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Panel moderator: David Susskind, President, Talent Associates-Paramount, Ltd., New York

Panel members: Michael Dann, producer, CBS-TV, New York

Melvin A. Glasser, Director, Social Security Department, UAW, AFL-CIO, Detroit; Chairman, NCSW Public Relations Committee

Mrs. Annie Lee Sandusky, Chief, Program Operation Branch, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Cecil Smith, television columnist, Los Angeles *Times*

Donald S. Harris, Director of Media and Programing, Philip Morris Co., New York

PSYCHOSOCIAL-ECONOMIC MEANINGS OF WORK IN AN AUTOMATED SOCIETY: THEIR EFFECTS ON FAMILY LIFE

[*Special Meeting*]

The Adult Worker in an Automated Society

Speaker: Henry David, head, Office of Science Resources Planning, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Youth in an Automated Society

Speaker: Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, President, Los Angeles City Board of Education

The Worker Facing Retirement

Speaker: Karl Kunze, Director of Personnel, California Division, Lockheed Corporation, Burbank

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH CONDITIONS IN GREECE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE 1964 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

[*U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work*]

Presiding: Walter Friedlander, Visiting Professor, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Speakers: Mary Keeley, Professor of Social Work, New York University, New York

Glen Leet, Executive Director, Save the Children Federation, New York

A SOCIAL AGENCY WORKS WITH UNWED FATHERS

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Elizabeth Christie, Chairman, NCSW Audio-visual Committee; Conference Secretary, Child Welfare League of America, New York

"The Teenage Unwed Father." Vista Del Mar Child-Care Service, 3200 Motor Avenue, Los Angeles 34, Calif.

1:00 P.M.

HELPING COMMUNITIES TO HELP THEMSELVES

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Mrs. Elizabeth Day, National Federation of Settlement and Neighborhood Centers, New York

"The Rising Tide." Office of Public Affairs, Area Development Administration, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT OF THE CHILD IN THE CONTEXT OF FAMILY THERAPY

[*Section I (Casework). Group Meeting 1*]

Presiding: Mrs. Maurice Saeta, board member, Jewish Family Service of Los Angeles

Speaker: David Hallowitz, Assistant Director, Psychiatric Clinic, Buffalo

Discussant: Mrs. Celia Mitchell, Chief Psychiatric Caseworker, Family Mental Health Clinic, Jewish Family Service, New York

THE ASSESSMENT OF CASEWORK AS A METHOD

[*Section I. Group Meeting 2*]

Presiding: Edgar W. Pye, community organization specialist, Department of Mental Hygiene, San Francisco

Speaker: Bertram M. Beck, Associate Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers, New York

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1962 PUBLIC WELFARE AMENDMENTS

[*Section I. Group Meeting 3*]

Presiding: Clyde Getz, Executive Director, Children's Home Society of California, Los Angeles

Speaker: Fred H. Steininger, Director, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: J. M. Wedemeyer, Director, California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento

Edward R. Kienitz, Executive Director, Hennepin County Welfare Department, Minneapolis

CRISIS INTERVENTION—A TREATMENT OPPORTUNITY

[Section I. Group Meeting 4]

Presiding: Mrs. John S. Ehrlich, Board of Directors, Travelers Aid Society of San Francisco

Speaker: Ruth Chaskel, Director, Program Services, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

Discussant: Mazie F. Rappaport, Director, Medical Social Service, Baltimore city hospitals

THE FAMILY AS A UNIT OF SERVICE

[Section II (Social Group Work). Group Meeting 1]

Presiding: Gertrude Wilson, Professor Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley; Project Director, National Study Service; Social Work Consultant, Public Welfare Department of San Francisco

Speakers: Gertrude Wilson

Gladys Ryland, Consultant, Western Region, National Board, YWCA, Berkeley, Calif.

Discussants: Helen Northen, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Alice Overton, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW-INCOME GROUP LIFE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

[Section II. Group Meeting 2]

Presiding: Arthur Cohn, Executive Director, Grand Street Settlement, New York

Speaker: Mrs. Harmon Putter, Assistant Chief, Services to Individuals and Families, Mobilization for Youth, New York

COMMUNITY CHANGE AND DISLOCATION AS RELATED TO SELF-ESTEEM AND GROUP PARTICIPATION: A DIMENSION OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK PRACTICE

[Section II. Group Meeting 3]

Speakers: Irving Canter, Associate Professor, Jane Addams Graduate School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Chicago; Research Project Director, Jewish Community Centers of Chicago

Milton Heller, Maryland-Virginia-Washington Director, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Richard Lodge, Associate Professor, University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE COMMUNITY, I: RESEARCH IN THE PREVENTION OF SUICIDE

[Section IV (Research) . Group Meeting 1]

Presiding: Maurice B. Hamovitch, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

The Cry for Help

Speaker: Carl I. Wold, Suicide Prevention Center, Los Angeles

Response to the Cry for Help

Speaker: David Klugman, psychiatric social worker, Suicide Prevention Center, Los Angeles

Consultation in a Suicide Prevention Center

Speaker: Robert E. Litman, M.D., Psychiatrist-Director, Suicide Prevention Center, Los Angeles

Discussant: Ruth Smalley, Dean, University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia

THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY: RESEARCH IN THE AREA OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

[Section IV. Group Meeting 2]

Presiding: Irving F. Lukoff, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

Panel members: David Gottlieb, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, East Lansing

Jerome Cohen, Associate Professor, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass. (Co-authors, Peter Rose, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Smith College, and Jerome Cohen)

Robert Crain, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

UNIQUE CHALLENGES OF INSTITUTIONAL ADMINISTRATION

[Section V (Administration) . Group Meeting 1]

Presiding: Thomas P. Gallagher, Assistant Director, Ryther Child Center, Seattle

Speaker: Clayton E. Nordstrom, Executive Director, Methodist Children's Home Society, Detroit

Discussants: Victor H. Andersen, Executive Director, Child Welfare Board of Summit County, Akron, Ohio

Richard O. Pancoast, Executive Director, Sunny Hills, San Anselmo, Calif.

THE MEANS TEST CAN BE SIMPLIFIED

[Section V. Group Meeting 2]

Presiding: Malcolm Stinson, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Speaker: George Hoshino, Assistant Professor, University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia

Discussants: Arthur Potts, Area Planning Director, Los Angeles Region Welfare Planning Council

Guy R. Justis, Director, Colorado Department of Public Welfare, Denver

RESISTANCE TO PHYSICAL CHANGE IN URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMS

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section VI (Methods of Social Action); NASW Division on Social Policy and Action*]

Presiding: L. H. Traylor, Director of the Youth Training and Employment Projects, Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles

Speaker: Robert W. O'Brien, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.

Discussants: William H. Boone, Relocation and Property Manager, Pasadena (Calif.) Redevelopment Agency

Margaret Watkins, Assistant Executive Director for Relocation and Property Management, Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles

PSYCHOSOCIAL-ECONOMIC MEANINGS OF WORK FOR THE ADULT WORKER IN AN AUTOMATED SOCIETY: THEIR IMPACT ON FAMILY LIFE

[*Special Meetings. Group Meeting 1*]

Discussion leader: Henry David, Head of Office of Science Resources Planning, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Commentators: Ed Briggs, Director, Public Relations, Pacific Telephone Co., Los Angeles; Yvonne Gireaux, Executive Director, Family Service of Los Angeles; Ralph Goff, Area Director, California Department of Social Welfare, Los Angeles; Roland Jones, Director of Industrial Relations, Carnation Co., Los Angeles; Richard Mead, Professor of Marketing, University of Southern California; Henry Spiller, Director of Statistical Department, Joint Council of Teamsters No. 42, Los Angeles; and Jack Crowley, Title Insurance Co., Los Angeles

PSYCHOSOCIAL-ECONOMIC MEANINGS OF WORK FOR YOUTH IN AN AUTOMATED SOCIETY: THEIR IMPACT ON FAMILY LIFE

[*Special Meetings. Group Meeting 2*]

Discussion leader: Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, President, Los Angeles City Board of Education

Commentators: John Andreson, Director, Charities Foundation, Los Angeles Times; Portia Bell Hume, M.D., Director, Center for Training in Community Psychiatry, Berkeley; John Milner, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; Mrs. Wanda Schermerhorn, Consultant, Child Welfare and Attendance, Los Angeles County schools; Benn Scott, Executive Secretary, Retail Clerks Union, Harbor City, Calif.

PSYCHOSOCIAL-ECONOMIC MEANINGS OF WORK FOR WORKERS FACING RETIREMENT IN AN AUTOMATED SOCIETY: THEIR EFFECT ON FAMILY LIFE

[*Special Meetings. Group Meeting 3*]

Discussion leader: Karl Kunze, Director of Personnel, California Division, Lockheed Corporation, Burbank

Commentators: Wayne Davidson, Retirement Counselor, Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Burbank, Calif.; A. W. Hale, Administrator, Employee Relations, El Segundo, Calif.; Giles Hall, former Director of Personnel, Consolidated Electrodynamics Corp., Pasadena; Brown McPherson, Pasadena; Maralyn Sullivan, Older Worker Specialist, California State Employment Service, Los Angeles; Kenneth Treffts, Professor of Finance, School of Business Administration, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE PEACE CORPS

[*U.S. Committee of the International Conference of Social Work*]

Presiding: Edward Francel, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Speaker: Thomas L. Maloney, Associate Professor, St. Louis University School of Social Service, St. Louis

Discussant: William T. White, General Manager, Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency

THE CONFERENCE STORY AND THE NCSW DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

[*NCSW National Board*]

Chairman: Henry L. Zucker, Treasurer, National Conference on Social Welfare; Executive Director, Jewish Community Federation, Cleveland

Panel members: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, Columbus, Ohio

Mrs. Betty B. Shepherd, Public Relations and Development Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, Columbus, Ohio

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

WHAT INFORMATION DO YOU WANT? WHAT INFORMATION DO YOU NEED?

[*NCSW National Board*]

Chairman: Milton Rector, Director, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, New York; Chairman, Advisory Committee on National Conference on Social Welfare's Information Service

Speaker: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, Columbus

8:30 P.M.

GENERAL SESSION

A Special Report on the War on Poverty

Presiding: Sanford Solender, Past President, National Conference on So-

cial Welfare; Executive Vice-President, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

Speaker: Donald S. Carmichael, Executive Vice-President, Stouffer Foods Corporation; member of President's Task Force on Poverty, Washington, D.C.

THURSDAY, MAY 25

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

HEALTH: WHAT'S NEW? WHAT'S KNOWN? WHAT'S NEEDED?

[*Combined Associate Groups*]

Presiding: Ellen B. Winston, Commissioner, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Speaker: John D. Porterfield, M.D., Coordinator, Medical and Health Sciences, University of California, Berkeley; President, American Public Health Association

Presentation of National Conference on Social Welfare Award

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

BEHAVIORAL FUNCTIONING OF CHILDREN WITH MODERATE RETARDATION

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Mrs. Alice Adler, Public Relations Department, Family Service Association of America, New York

"Mental Retardation in Young Children." Mental Development Center, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio

1:00 P.M.

THE ROLE OF THE VOLUNTEER IN TREATMENT OF THE MENTALLY ILL

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Marguerite Pohek, Consultant on Teaching Methods and Materials, Council on Social Work Education, New York

"The Long Way Back." International Film Bureau, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 4, Ill.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN MENTAL HEALTH: STATE AND LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 1*]

(This is the first of two meetings on the same subject.)

Presiding: Ralph M. Kramer, Lecturer, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Community Organization for Mental Health under State Auspices

Speaker: Edward Rudin, M.D., Deputy Director, Community Services,
California State Department of Mental Hygiene, Sacramento

NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ASPECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 2*]

(This is the first of two meetings on the same subject.)

Presiding: Elmer J. Tropman, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh

Speakers: Fern Colborn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Renewal, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York
Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Urban League of Chicago
Samuel Dash, Executive Director, Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN MENTAL HEALTH: STATE AND LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group meeting 1*]

(This is a continuation of the 2:00 P.M. meeting on the same subject.)

Presiding: Ralph M. Kramer, Lecturer, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Discussants: Albert G. Feldman, Director, Mental Health Development Program, Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region

Helen M. Fisher, Executive Director, San Fernando Valley Mental Health Association, North Hollywood, Calif.

Gertrude Hengerer, Executive Director, Family Service Association of Palo Alto and Los Altos, Calif.

Stephen Teale, M.D., Senator, California State Legislature, Sacramento

NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ASPECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization. Group Meeting 2*]

(This is a continuation of the 2:00 P.M. meeting on the same subject.)

Presiding: Elmer J. Tropman, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh

Panel members: Gordon Manser, Associate Director, National Social Welfare Assembly

Campbell Murphy, Director, Special Programs Department, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

Robert Fenley, Director of Program Development, Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN DEFINING SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION

[*Cosponsoring Groups: NASW Council on Social Work Administration; Section V (Administration)*]

Presiding: Pauline M. Carman, Director, Department of Social Work, Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit

Administration, a Method in Social Work Practice—Implications, Adaptations, and Applications

Speaker: Harleigh B. Trecker, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Connecticut, Hartford; Chairman, National Association of Social Workers Council on Social Work Administration

The Concept of Administration as a Social Work Method and Its Applicability in a Metropolitan Agency

Speaker: Bertram H. Gold, Executive Director, Jewish Centers Association, Los Angeles

INTERPRETING MENTAL ILLNESS THROUGH TELEVISION

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Mrs. Marcia C. Burk, Associate Director, Mental Health Association of Los Angeles County

"The 91st Day." Smith Kline & French Laboratories, 1500 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

FRIDAY, MAY 29

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

THE SENSE OF COMMITMENT IN SERVING OLDER PERSONS

[*Section I (Casework). Group Meeting 1*]

Presiding: Harold E. Simmons, Deputy Director, California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento

Speaker: Edna Wasser, Associate Director, Project on Aging, Family Service Association of America, New York

Discussant: Frank Itzin, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Iowa, Iowa City

A CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM THAT PREDICTS CASEWORK TREATMENT METHODOLOGY

[*Section I (Casework). Group Meeting 2*]

Presiding: Alan N. Ducommun, Secretary of Ducommun Metals, Los Angeles; board member, Children's Bureau of Los Angeles

Speakers: Henry Freeman, Executive Director, Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh

Donald Ayre, Project Director, Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh
Catherine Hildebrand, Assistant Director of Casework, Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh

FAMILY GROUP INTERVIEWING

[*Section I (Casework) . Group Meeting 3*]

Presiding: Mrs. Ernest Debs, board member, Assistance League of Southern California, Los Angeles

Panel members: Elizabeth Allison, Director, Family Group Interviewing Project, Bureau of Public Assistance, Los Angeles, and Assistance League Family Service Agency

Genevieve W. Carter, Associate Director, Division of Research, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Virginia Satir, Director of Training, Family Project, Mental Research Institute, Palo Alto Medical Research Foundation

Mrs. Leona Schreiber, Director of Casework, Family Service Agency, Assistance League of Southern California, Hollywood

Mrs. Iris Fleckenstein, Head Child Welfare Worker, Los Angeles Bureau of Public Assistance

SOCIAL GROUP WORK IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL: A RESEARCH REPORT

[*Section II (Social Group Work) . Group Meeting 1*]

Presiding: Betty Lewis, Assistant Director, Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association

Speakers: Robert D. Vinter, Professor, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Rosemary C. Sarri, Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

THE EVOLVING ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY CENTER IN MEETING SOCIAL AND HEALTH NEEDS

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section II (Social Group Work) . Group Meeting 2;*

Section IV (Social Research) . Group Meeting 3]

Presiding: Milton Wittman, Chief, Social Work Section, Training and Manpower Resources Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Md.

Speakers: Irving Brodsky, General Director, Associated YM-YWHA's of Greater New York

Douglas Holmes, Associate Director of Research, Associated YM-YWHA's of Greater New York

William Weinstein, Executive Director, Mosholu-Montefiore Community Center, New York (co-author, Mrs. Leonard H. Bernheim, New York)

CAMPING FOR THE MENTALLY ILL ADULT—A NEW DIMENSION

[*Section II. Group Meeting 3*]

Presiding: Earle Devlin, Director, Psychiatric Social Service, Undercliff Hospital, Meriden, Conn.

Speaker: Lynn Irvine, Metropolitan Youth Commission of St. Louis and St. Louis County (co-authors, Lynn Irvine and Earle Devlin)

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION THEORY AND PRACTICE

[*Joint NCSW-NASW Committee on Community Organization*]

Presiding: Ronald Born, Director of Public Welfare, City and County of San Francisco

Speaker: Wayne Vasey, Dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE COMMUNITY, II: APPROACHES THROUGH CLINICAL TEAM PRACTICE TO THE MODIFICATION OF OR INTERVENTION IN SITUATIONS OF CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

[*Section IV (Social Research). Group Meeting 1*]

Presiding: Mrs. Frances Feldman, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Panel members: Mrs. Louise Bandler, social worker, Multiproblem Family Project, School of Social Work, Simmons College, Boston
Paul Bowman, M.D., Greater Kansas City Health Foundation, Kansas City, Mo.

Mrs. Marcellette H. Womach, Neighborhood Center Association, Houston, Texas

Discussant: Hylan Lewis, Director, Child Rearing Study, Washington, D.C.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORK PRACTITIONER IN RESEARCH

[*Section IV (Social Research). Group Meeting 2*]

Presiding: Mrs. Viola W. Weiss, Director of Planning and Education, Jewish Children's Home Service, New Orleans

Speakers: Dorothy Howerton, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans

Mrs. Natalie Siegel, Acting District Director, Family Service of Metropolitan Detroit

HOW TO IDENTIFY, DEVELOP, AND TRAIN THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FUTURE

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section V (Administration); NASW Council on Social Work Administration*]

Presiding: Mrs. Corinne H. Wolfe, Chief, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Identifying the Potential Administrator

Speaker: Richard O. Stock, Executive Director, Family Service Association, Cleveland

Developing Administrative Work Experience

Speaker: Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg

Training for Administration

Speaker: Thomas Fred Lewin, Assistan Dean, Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

A TALE OF MENTAL HEALTH IN TWO STATES

[*Cosponsoring Groups: Section VI (Methods of Social Action); NASW Division on Social Policy and Action*]

Presiding: Donald A. Schwartz, M.D., Deputy Director, Los Angeles County Mental Health Department

Speakers: Edward R. Rudin, Deputy Director, Community Services, California State Department of Mental Hygiene, Sacramento

Daniel L. Prosser, Senior Mental Health Consultant and Head of Mental Health Section, Washington State Department of Health, Olympia

A DOCUMENTARY INTERPRETATION OF AFDC

[*Audio-visual Committee*]

Presiding: Colonel Jane E. Wrieden, National Consultant, Women's and Children's Services, Salvation Army

"Wednesday's Child." Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, Salem

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

CLOSING GENERAL SESSION

CURRENT ISSUES IN CIVIL RIGHTS

Presiding: Nathan E. Cohen, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Speaker: Lewis M. Killian, Professor, Department of Sociology, Florida State University, Tallahassee

Introduction of National Conference on Social Welfare President for 1964-65

POST-FORUM WORKSHOP: Social Change and Social Welfare:
the Implications of Social Change for Modifying Existing Social Welfare Policies, Services, and Structures

2:00 P.M.—2:45 P.M.

OPENING SESSION

[*Division*]

Presiding: Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg

The Workshop as the Culmination of the Forum Division Program: Defining the Task Ahead

Speakers: John B. Turner, Division Chairman; School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Joseph H. Meyers, Deputy Commissioner, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

3:00 P.M.—5:00 P.M.

WORKSHOP DISCUSSION GROUPS

[*Division*]

In round-table, informal, focused discussion, groups of twenty members each will seek to identify:

1. Areas of change in which social welfare policy has been clarified and effective services are functioning
2. Areas of problem that are social welfare's concern
3. Barriers to accomplishment within social welfare itself

Discussion group leaders: Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers, New York

Eileen Blackey, Dean, School of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles

Margaret Daniel, State Development and Student Training, Social Work Service, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C.

Marvin Larson, Director, Kansas State Department of Social Welfare, Topeka

Gordon Manser, Associate Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

Herbert Millman, Associate Executive Director, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

Arnulf Pins, Associate Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York

Mrs. Esther C. Spencer, Chief, Bureau of Public Health Social Work, California State Department of Public Health, Berkeley

5:30 P.M.—6:30 P.M.

WORKSHOP RECEPTION

[*Division*]

6:30 P.M.

WORKSHOP DINNER DISCUSSIONS

[*Division*]

At dinner the groups will continue the round-table discussions of the afternoon:

Development of Designs for Change

1. What changes should be made in social welfare in agency structure, organization, and coordinating functions?
2. What changes should be made in personnel? In task definition and educational preparation?

3. What adaptations in methods of social work are called for by the changing social scene?
4. What use is this blueprint? How to use it?

SATURDAY, MAY 30

9:00 A.M.—11:00 A.M.

WORKSHOP REPORT

[*Division*]

Appendix B: Business Organization of the Conference for 1964

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE is a voluntary association of individual and organizational members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields.

NCSW OFFICERS

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Health: What's New? What's Known? What's Needed? Whitney Jansen, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Community Health Planning 1964-66. Mrs. Charles S. Monroe, National Council Episcopal Church, Department of Christian Social Relations; Peter Meek, National Health Council; Nelson C. Jackson, National Urban League

Dynamics of Successful Health Education. Mrs. Eve Dyrssen, Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Harold N. Weiner, National Public Relations Council of Health and Welfare Services

Maternal and New-born Care: Critical Issues. Carl Scott, Child Study Association of America; Elizabeth Christie, Child Welfare League of America; Mrs. Helen Wortis, United Cerebral Palsy Association

Social Welfare and Public Health: the Interdisciplinary Approach. Lt. Col. Roy S. Barber, Salvation Army; Betty Power, National Association of Social

Workers; Mrs. Wylda B. Cowles, Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Medical Poverty: an Old Problem—a Quest for New Solutions. Ruth Chaskel,
 National Travelers Aid Association; Gilbert Convers, American Council for
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Current Issues in Health Legislation. Mrs. Elma Phillipson Cole, National
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